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## ART. I.—THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

Nothing perhaps more strikingly illustrates the irreconcilable, if not "irrepressible conflict" of opinion between the North and South, than the prevailing discussion as to the right of a State to secede from the federal Union. In the South it is no longer an open question, and it seems almost as useless to adduce arguments to prove, as to refute the doctrine. It has for years been "part and parcel" of our organic laws, and is now affirmed not only theoretically, but practically, in the ordinances of secession, adopted with unparalleled unanimity by conventions of the people in South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, soon to be followed by co-operative action in the other slaveholding States, and the formation, at no distant day, of a Southern confederacy. While such is the popular verdict in this case at the South, the right in question is as universally denied by the people of the Northern States; and not only by rabid Republicans, clamorous with bloodthirsty threats of coercion and war, but by the most orthodox and conservative statesmen of the democratic school. The secession of a State from the Union is treated even by this class of politicians as an act of revolt, and the citizens of the seceding States, protected by the ægis of their sovereign authority, are put in the same category with rebels and traitors to the government. Our contradictory opinions on this subject are, no doubt, founded on processes of argument equally logical, and the difference between us results from the fact that our conclusions are deduced from premises diametrically opposite.

The Northern judgment obviously proceeds on the assumption

tion that the general government at Washington is the centre of a grand consolidated empire, of which the States are mere appurtenances or provincial subdivisions. Upon no other hypothesis could a State be accused of rebellion. This, as all men know, means the resistance of an inferior to the lawful enactments of a superior. It implies the violation of allegiance. To predicate, therefore, rebellion of a State, or of the citizens of a State, in obeying its sovereign authority, in opposition to the laws of the federal Congress, is equivalent to the assertion that the allegiance of the citizen is due to the government of the United States; and since allegiance is the correlative of sovereignty, it must follow that the government is supreme, and the States subordinate. Such notions, it is needless to say, ignore or falsify all the facts of our history, and contravene the whole theory of federal government. If we turn to the record, it will be found that the government at Washington is, in truth, but a corporation, possessed of no original authority, created by the several States for certain specified purposes, with all its powers delegated, enumerated, and limited in the Constitution; its charter, and that the only sovereignty, is with the people of the several States composing the Union, to whom alone is due the allegiance of their citizens respectively.

It is contended by some, that a right not asserted in the Constitution must necessarily be extra-constitutional or revolutionary, and that, subjected to this test, the right of secession can be only allowable on those principles of natural justice, which, in cases of intolerable oppression, stamp revolt with virtue. This rule of construction may be true as to the government of the United States, or *any other corporation*, which, from the very law of its being, can claim no right, and exercise no power, which is not delegated and specified in its charter. But the reverse is true as to the States forming the confederacy, which, originally sovereign, do evidently still retain every right and power which are not *prohibited* to them by the articles of Union, either directly, by positive interdict, or indirectly, by actual delegation to the general government. It would save much confusion to bear always in mind that the Constitution, so far as it relates to federal authority, is a *grant*; so far as it relates to State authority, a *restriction*.

It would follow, therefore, that even without the tenth article of amendments to the Constitution, "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respect-

ively, or to the people;" that is, these residuary powers may be *constitutionally* exercised by the several States according to the nature of the power, either through their ordinary governments, or by conventions of the people. The argument we oppose belongs to that class of syllogisms which prove too much, and is obviously a *non sequitur*. It will not be alleged that the right of a State to impose taxes, to regulate the course of descents, or to inflict capital punishments, is a *revolutionary right*, because not expressed in the Constitution; and with what better reason can it be alleged that the right of a State to secede from the Union must be *revolutionary*, because not expressed in that instrument. Again, if the right of secession be merely the right of revolution, then it follows that the States stand in the same relation to the general government as parishes, districts, or townships do to the State governments; on which supposition State rights, which, strange to say, our opponents admit to be living realities, are but "figments of the brain," and only a fit subject for mockery and sarcasm.

It is, for example, universally conceded that the district of Abbeville, or the parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis, may assert and exercise the revolutionary right of revolt when it considers itself aggrieved or oppressed; and if the State of South Carolina has nothing better left than the mere right of revolution, wherein, we ask, is her political *status* superior to that of the parish. Such extravagant views, by an unscrupulous Northern majority, controlling the government at Washington, which, when carried out, would degrade the citizens of the Southern States, the minority section, to the condition of colonial vassalage, if not of Russian serfdom, afford, we think, quite as valid a cause for dissolving the Union, as the establishment of a Black Republican dynasty over us. We shall, therefore, undertake to expose the falsity of all such pretensions, by exhibiting, as concisely as we can, the true theory of this system of government. We shall discuss the question of secession, not as a revolutionary right, but as one growing out of the very nature of a federal Union, and to be classified among the *reserved rights* of the States composing the Union.

The decision of this question depends on the relation which the States occupy to each other, and to the federal government. We allege that the relation between them is that of several sovereignties, who have entered into a political union; covenanting with each other to exercise conjointly certain

specific powers, through the medium of a common agent, called the federal government, and, of course, while the Union continues, to abstain from the separate exercise of these delegated powers. It will be admitted that so far as this common agent is authorized to act for the confederated States, as, for example, in the management of foreign relations, the power to regulate commerce, declare war, make treaties, conduct diplomatic intercourse with other countries, by means of ambassadors, consuls, &c., the several States are not seen and recognized in the transaction, and acting exclusively through the intervention of their common agent, are ostensibly one political community; but it is, nevertheless, true, according to the legal maxim, "*qui facit per alium, facit per se*," that the action of the federal government, in such cases, is virtually and really the action of the confederated States, and not less true that these States, in their relations to each other and that government which is their constituted agent, are clothed with original and undiminished sovereignty. We now propose to demonstrate this proposition by an appeal to indisputable facts, and the most authoritative standards of international law.

Without dwelling on such familiar facts of our history as that the original thirteen States, during their colonial existence, stood entirely disconnected from each other—having separate charters, governments, laws, institutions, &c.—presenting nothing in common but the circumstance of their being all dependencies of the mother country, and that, therefore, when on the 4th of July, 1776, the cord which bound them to the British Crown was severed by their united act, each, however, acting for itself, and by its own authority, the relations which had existed between them as separate communities still continued, and that the only effect of the measure then adopted was, to convert them from dependent colonies to independent States, devolving on each one of them, respectively, the sovereignty which had been previously vested in the British Government. Passing over these undeniable facts, we turn our attention to the "Union," under the "Articles of Confederation," agreed to by ten of the States on the 9th of July, 1778, and a few years after by the rest of the thirteen—Maryland, the last to accede, ratifying on the 1st of March, 1781.

These articles of confederation formed the basis of union up to the present federal Constitution; and when the question is asked, What was the relation between the several States during that period?—there can be but one answer. It is to be found in the second and third articles of that instrument. In



the third it is asserted, that "the said States severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence;" and the second affirms, that "each still *retains* its sovereignty, freedom, and independence"—expressions which not only recognize the pre-existing sovereignty of the States, but guaranty it for the future. The States, then, were sovereign up to the adoption of the present constitution of 1788. The question, then, is, whether there was anything attending the formation or adoption of this constitution, or anything in its provisions, which would favor the notion that the previous sovereignty of the States was then merged or surrendered. That instrument was framed by a convention of delegates appointed by the legislatures of the several States, which assembled in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May, 1787. It was convened under a resolution of Congress passed in February of the same year, which expressly states, that it was called for "the sole purpose of *revising* (not abrogating) the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." One of the articles of the confederation (the 13th) had declared that those articles "shall be inviolably preserved, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to by a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every State." This was the course pursued on that occasion. The Constitution agreed on by the Philadelphia Convention, in which each State, being recognized as a co-ordinate sovereign, had an equal vote, was reported to the federal Congress, and by them referred to the State legislatures, who submitted the same to a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the people thereof, for their assent and ratification.

In every step of this procedure it is evident that each State was regarded as retaining "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence." This is not less evident in the act of ratification. Nothing can be more certain than the fact that each State, in ratifying the new Constitution, acted by itself and for itself, as much so as in the adoption of its own separate State constitution. It was agreed that the new government should not go into operation unless nine of the thirteen States concurred in the measure. Had nine assented, and the remaining

four refused, the government could have exerted no authority whatever over the dissenting States. This is put beyond cavil by the historical fact that two of the thirteen States did not come into the Union until after the federal government had been organized, and commenced its operation. North Carolina did not ratify until the 1st of August, 1789, and Rhode Island not until the 16th of June, 1790, whereas the government commenced its action on the 4th of March, 1789. During this interval these two States occupied to the federal government the same relation with foreign powers, and were free from all claim of control, jurisdiction, or authority, by virtue thereof. It is certain that this process of separate ratification by the several States was not adopted, as some affect to believe, as a convenient mode of collecting the will of the people of the United States, considered as one aggregate mass or single political community. Had such been the intention, it would have been absurd to allow each of the thirteen constituent portions of this mass the right of rejecting the Constitution, and not less absurd and contradictory of the essential characteristic of all popular government, that a small minority of the whole people should have been empowered to establish or defeat the organization of the government; and yet upon this hypothesis such may have been the case.

The thirteen States composing the confederacy were then, as now, very unequal in territory and population, so that nine of the smallest did not contain a majority of the entire population of the thirteen; and according to the mode of ratification agreed on, the Constitution may have been adopted and the government organized against the will of the majority, even if the people of the nine States had been unanimous in its favor, and of course by a still smaller minority, had the measure been carried in those States by a bare majority of the voters in opposition to the unanimous vote of the States which refused to ratify; and this argument stands out in bolder relief, when we consider that a bare majority of the people in *five* of the smallest States, not exceeding, we suppose, *one twentieth* of the population of the whole thirteen, could, by refusing to ratify, have defeated the entire measure, in opposition to the unanimous vote of all of the remaining States which composed the confederacy. These facts completely refute the notion, that in the ratification of the federal Constitution, there was any surrender on the part of the States of their pre-existing sovereignty, and establish, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the government from which we have severed our connexion,

is, in the language of Mr. Calhoun, "the government of a community of States, and not the government of a single State or nation." But let us now see whether this position is at all invalidated by anything contained in the provisions of the federal Constitution. To arrive at a correct conclusion on this subject, it will be proper to consider first, what is to be understood by sovereignty, and secondly, what engagements may be assumed by a State without any transfer or even diminution of its sovereignty. The discussion of these questions will require us to cite the writings of publicists, and some of the standard works on international law. Sovereignty is the supreme and ultimate authority in a State. It is that power which governs in the last resort, and has the acknowledged right to abolish or change without violence, the fundamental laws of the community. It is of the very essence of sovereignty to be the highest *legal power* in the State, and to be subject to no *legal* restraint but its own will. It is admitted that the sovereign, as all human agents are, is subject to *moral* obligations, but *only to such*. It is the prerogative of a sovereign State to be responsible only to the laws of God, and thus when it breaks through these restraints and violates its plighted faith, there is no other appeal but to the God of battles. "This sovereignty," to use the language of an illustrious patriot\* of Georgia, "wherever it exists, is omnipotent."

It is the same in one independent community as in another, and is unsusceptible of division, increase, or diminution. Constitutions and governments are emanations from it, as light from the sun, which parts with it constantly, without itself being impaired, or wasted, or weakened. Hence it is, that it makes and unmakes at pleasure, and knows no superior but Divinity, and no law but the universal law ordained by that Divinity, which is the law of right and justice. "Sovereignty," says Burlamaqui, (*Principles of Law*, chap. v., p. 212,) "we must define, the right of commanding civil society in the last resort." "It can admit of no share or partition, because there is no sovereign at all, when there are many, since there is then no one who commands in the last resort, and none of them being obliged to give way to the other, their competition must necessarily throw everything into disorder and confusion."—P. 213. "The first characteristic, and that from which all the others flow, is its being a supreme and independent power—that is, a power that judges in the last

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\* The late Governor Troup.

resort of whatever is susceptible of human direction, and relates to the welfare and advantage of society, insomuch that this power acknowledges no superior power on earth."—P. 220. "That in every government there should be such a supreme power, is a point absolutely necessary; the very nature of the thing requires it, otherwise it is impossible for it to subsist. For, since powers cannot be multiplied to infinity, we must necessarily stop at some degree of authority, superior to all other; and let the form of government be what it will, monarchical, aristocratical, democratical, or mixed, we must always submit to a *supreme decision*, since it implies a contradiction to say, that there is any person above him who holds the highest rank in the same order of beings."—P. 220. "A *second* characteristic which is a consequence of the former, is that the sovereign, as such, is not accountable to any person upon earth for his conduct, nor liable to any punishment from man; for both suppose a superior."—P. 221. "A *third* characteristic essential to sovereignty, considered in itself, is that the sovereign, as such, be above all human or civil law. I say all human law, for there is no doubt, but the sovereign is subject to the divine laws, whether natural or positive."—P. 222. With this view of the subject agrees Dr. Paley. In treating of different forms of government, chap. 6, book xi., on "The Elements of Political Knowledge," he says: "As a series of appeals must be finite, there necessarily exists in every government a power from which the constitution has provided no appeal, and which power for that reason may be termed absolute, omnipotent, uncontrollable, arbitrary, despotic, and is alike so in all countries. The person or assembly in whom this power resides, is called the sovereign, or the supreme power of the State."

Without adducing other authorities, all to the same effect, we would observe that our citations have been thus full and exact, in order to correct what seems to us a most strange and prevalent notion—even among intelligent jurists and politicians—that sovereignty is something which is divisible, and may be apportioned between the general government and the State government, which, from the above definitions, is obviously a solecism of the grossest nature.

It springs from the fallacy of confounding sovereignty with the exercise of certain powers, the usual attributes or concomitants of sovereignty which have been delegated by the sovereign to some constituted agent. It, therefore, is essential to distinguish accurately the proper signification of such terms as

sovereignty, government, and the constitution. Sovereignty is the supreme authority in the State, which, with us, is always vested in the people; government is the agent appointed by the sovereign, and entrusted, through its appropriate functionaries, with the power of making, administering, and executing the laws; and the constitution is the power of attorney, under which, with the prescribed limitations, this agent is authorized to act. Now, no one can suppose that this investiture of the agent or agents (as the case may be) with certain legislative, judicial, and executive powers, under a constitution which assigns and limits these powers, could operate to divert or divide the pre-existing supremacy of the sovereign. No one can suppose that when the lord of the manor appoints a steward (or several) to manage his business, and supplies him with the means for that purpose, this could be construed to deprive his lordship of his right of seigniory. No one supposes that when the State of South Carolina, in 1778, delegated to "the United States in Congress assembled" the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, sending and receiving ambassadors, entering into treaties and alliances, granting letters of marque and reprisal, this was a surrender of her sovereignty; or that when, on the 3d June, 1790, our present State constitution was adopted by a convention of the people, and a government organized with its legislative, judicial, and executive departments, the people thereupon ceased to be sovereign. Why, then, should it be supposed that when the federal Constitution was adopted in like manner by a convention of the people in 1788, that act operated as a merger of sovereignty in the government which was on that occasion instituted. One source of misapprehension on this subject is to be found in the erroneous supposition of analogy between the American and European systems of government. In the monarchies of the Old World, the power of the government being exempt from any legal limitations, is virtually absolute, or identical with sovereignty. Even with those which claim to be constitutional or limited monarchies, the constitution signifies nothing but the mere custom of governing, and is not regarded as imposing any legal restraint upon the authority of the legislature.

Thus, one of the commentators on the British constitution very frankly tells us, that no act of Parliament could be set aside as unconstitutional; and another says that the king, lords, and commons, can do any thing except making a man a woman, or a woman a man. With us it is just the re-



verse—the Constitution being, as already explained, a law paramount, enacted by the sovereign for the regulation of the government, and the government itself but a limited agency—the very antithesis of sovereignty. On this subject we would quote the opinion of Mr. Webster, which will be accepted, in some latitudes at least, as of oracular authority. In the debate on Mr. Calhoun's resolutions in 1833 in the Senate of the United States, he says, p. 29, "*The sovereignty of government is an idea belonging to the other side of the Atlantic. No such thing is known in North America—our governments are all limited—with us all power is with the people: they alone are sovereign, and they erect what government they please, and confer on them such powers as they please.*" But let us now proceed to consider what must be the character of the engagements entered into between sovereign States, so as to prevent the loss or diminution of their sovereignty; and on this subject we would cite several extracts from the celebrated work of Vattel on the "Law of Nations." In B. I., sec. 10, he says: "Several sovereign and independent States may unite themselves together by a perpetual confederacy, without ceasing to be, each individually, a perfect State. They will together constitute a federal republic; their joint deliberations will not impair the sovereignty of each, though each may, in certain respects, put some restraint on the exercise of it, in virtue of *voluntary engagements.*" And in this connexion we would also refer to a passage from Burlamaqui to the same effect. Speaking of compound forms of government (2d vol., 2d part, 1st chap., sect. 40, 41, 45), this author says: "These may be defined an assemblage of perfect governments strictly united by some particular bond, so that they seem to make but a single body with respect to the affairs which interest them in common, though *each preserves its sovereignty full and entire independently of the others.*" These precedents establish conclusively that several sovereign States may unite under a compact for certain purposes, covenanting with each other to exercise certain powers *conjointly*, and to forbear from their exercise *separately*, and still retain the *status* of perfect sovereigns. Again:

It is said by Vattel (B. II., sec. 174), "Equal alliances, in which *equal treats with equal*, make no difference in the dignity of the contracting parties;" and in B. II., sec. 172, it is further said, "*Equal treaties* are those in which the contracting parties promise the same thing or things that are equivalent, or, finally, that are equitably proportioned, so that the

condition of the parties is equal." With these passages in view, we are authorized to infer that the sovereignty of a State is never diminished by any engagements not subversive of its separate organization, which are *voluntarily* assumed; and we have already seen that such was the action of each of the States in the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. Again:

It is equally evident that sovereignty is not impaired by an *equal alliance*; and, as defined by Vattel, such, most obviously, was the union between the States under the federal Constitution. "The contracting parties," to use the language of a distinguished friend of Virginia, "treated with each other as equals, acknowledging no difference in dignity," and "promised the same things" for the same equivalents. Each State vested some of its powers in a general government, and every other State made an equal contribution. Each State agreed, in a prescribed mode, to allow the general government to act directly on its citizens—not to make war, peace, and treaties, &c., without the concurrence of its associates, and even in certain cases to submit to some restraints in the exercise of its sovereign power to change its form of government, but every other State agreed to make precisely the same concessions. The only instances in which there was an apparent inequality in the terms of the compact, were the provisions which apportioned representatives, direct taxes, and electors of president and vice-president, among the States, *according to population*, instead of allowing an equal weight to each. But if the larger States enjoyed a more numerous representation, and a greater electoral suffrage, they also paid a greater share of the taxes, and recognized the equality of the smaller States in the Senate. It was, in short, precisely that equitable apportionment spoken of by Vattel which made the condition of the parties equal.

It appears then that in a federal Union, however large may be the powers delegated to the common government, and whatever may be the mode of administration agreed on—whether in the form of *requisition* upon the States, or by the more appropriate machinery of the government itself—if the engagements entered into have been *voluntarily* assumed, without force or constraint, and the *alliance be equal*, the parties to the compact are still severally invested with all of their original sovereignty. It is needless to reassert that such was the nature of the Union which has now been dissolved, and such, therefore, the character of the States of which it was composed.

This conclusion is verified by several collateral considerations to which we would now very briefly advert. The first is, the explicit acknowledgment which pervades every article and clause of the federal Constitution, of the *continuing existence* of the States—as separate States—for in the vocabulary of the civilians, the terms are synonymous as separate sovereignty or nations. Again, if by the adoption of that Constitution, the States yielded their sovereignty, where is it now to be found? Sovereignty cannot be in *abeyance*; for all will concur with Burlamaqui and Paley, that in every political community there must be such a supreme power somewhere—“that the very nature of the thing requires it.” Well, if not in *abeyance*, this pre-existing sovereignty, when given up, must have been transferred; and we now ask for a categorical answer to the inquiry, to whom was the transfer made? Was it to the federal government? We have already seen that with us *no government is sovereign*. Was it, as some fancifully suppose, delegated to the Supreme Court of the United States? This is but one of the departments of the federal government. Or was it surrendered to *three fourths* of the States, with the grant of the power to amend the Constitution? But this cannot be true, since the power to amend, large as it may be, is still *limited*, and in the ratification of the amendments proposed under the exercise of this power, each of the States, is also recognized as a sovereign and an equal; petty Rhode Island holding the same rank with the imperial State of New-York.—(Art. V.) Unless, therefore, it can be shown where this alleged transfer of sovereignty was deposited, we have no alternative but to adopt the conclusion that no such transfer was ever made, and that the power in question is to be arranged among that class of powers which, not having been delegated to the United States by the articles of union, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, and, of course, may be *constitutionally* exercised by the people of the several States “in convention assembled.”

Several important corollaries result from the doctrine which has been established, to one or two of which we now beg leave to allude. The *first* is, the right of a State to secede from the federal Union, through a convention of the people, the appropriate organ of her sovereignty, “without let, molestation, or hindrance from any power whatsoever.” This is neither more nor less than the right of a State to govern herself; and it has been already shown, that the authority to make and unmake constitutions, to organize and reorganize governments,

to ordain or rescind the fundamental laws of society, and this without being subject to the controlling or appellate jurisdiction of any earthly tribunal, is one of the essential and universally acknowledged prerogatives of sovereignty. The *second* is, that allegiance, the paramount of ligation of the citizen, being the correlative of sovereignty, and this being in its nature one and indivisible, it results that the allegiance of the citizens of a State, while they continue such, is due exclusively to the State, and that their *obedience* to any other power is lawful only so far and so long as it may be continued or permitted by the sovereign authority of the said State. To talk therefore of the citizens of a seceding State as guilty of treason against the federal government, while engaged in carrying out the ordinance of secession, is preposterous in the extreme. The very reverse of this proposition is the evident and honest truth.

In asserting that sovereignty is in its very nature supreme and illimitable, we freely admitted that the sovereign is subject to moral obligations. While we held that his will was absolute on all questions of municipal law—acknowledged that he was bound by the requirements of the divine law, we have never denied that his pledged faith must be kept inviolate, his honor pure and unsullied, and that in all his intercourse with others he must be governed by those precepts of truth and justice, which are embodied in the law of nations—which is the law of sovereigns. We make no excuse for the arbitrary and wanton repudiation of contracts or engagements by a sovereign State. It is true, that in whatever concerns the welfare of the community, the sovereign must necessarily be the exclusive arbiter; but as he is responsible to God and the tribunal of public opinion for the rightful exercise of his power, it seems always proper that he should declare the reasons which impel and justify his action.

In concluding this article, therefore, already extended far beyond our prescribed limits, we would very briefly advert to a few of the causes which must operate, "*in foro conscientia*," to acquit us of all blame in our ordinance of secession. And first, we feel assured that a complete vindication of our action is to be found in the fact that the articles of union entered into by and between the seceding States and their former associates, have been violated by the federal government, as well by the perversion of delegated powers, as by the assumption of powers not granted; and that the Constitution—the bond of our connection with the co-states—has also

been wholly disregarded, both in letter and spirit, in most of the non-slaveholding States of the confederacy, by the inimical action of their State governments and organized associations, permitted, if not chartered by law; the avowed design of which is aggression on Southern rights, and the subversion of institutions which we deem essential not only to our prosperity but our civilization—nay, to our very existence as a free people. Now, it is a clear principle of natural justice, that a covenant broken on one side may be broken on all sides; and that where a compact of union exists between sovereign States, and any of its material provisions are violated by one party, the other party has the right either to compel the offender to perform his engagements, or, at his election, to treat the compact as annulled, and, seceding from the Union, re-enter upon the enjoyment of his separate and independent sovereignty.—(Vattel, B. II., sect. 200) We would next found the justification of our ordinance of secession on the doctrine contained in our Declaration of Independence of 1776, which, having been the very basis of the American Revolution, and incorporated since in the bills of rights or constitutions of most of the United States, may not only be regarded as a settled principle on this side of the Atlantic, but viewed as an American supplement to the laws of nature and of nations, as expounded by Grotius and Puffendorf. It is this: "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted, it is the *right of the people* to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." It is true, that the right thus claimed is that of revolution, and was then asserted in behalf of those who, being in the condition of colonies, could claim no other. But this can make no difference as to the *moral character* of the act. It will, we should think, be at once conceded that the right of *secession in a State* would at least run parallel with the right of *revolt in a colony*. We should even think it the most obvious and certain of the two, and argue, that if a dependent colony may in the case supposed properly exercise the revolutionary right of revolt, *a fortiori*, may a "sovereign State in an analogous case, exercise the reserved right of secession. Now, we are not left in doubt as to the objects for which the government of the United States was instituted. They are expressed in the preamble of the Constitution, as follows: "To form a more perfect union,



establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." While such was the avowed design, we believe in the exercise of our sober and unprejudiced judgment, that all these objects, *so far as the slaveholding States are concerned*, have not only failed of being realized, but that under the action and operation of the system devised, it has produced results the very opposite of what was intended—that it has rendered the union *less perfect*—that it has established amongst us that inequality which is synonymous with *injustice*—that it has destroyed our *domestic tranquillity*—that it is now about to commit the guardianship of the *common defence* and *general welfare* to the enemies of our rights and interests, and inaugurate a course of policy utterly destructive to that security, prosperity and happiness, without which *liberty* is but a glittering bubble. In short, the Constitution, ordained and established by our fathers in 1788, has been virtually revolutionized, and in place of the original, a substitute is proffered to us, which is not possible for us to accept without the betrayal of our birthright, and affixing a foul blot on the escutcheon of our fame.

We therefore conclude, that unless our late Northern associates and allies are now resolved to discard what we have all heretofore been willing to esteem, as the cardinal principles of popular government, they have no alternative but to acquiesce in our ordinance of secession, and to recognise, in due season, the independence of our Southern confederacy.

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#### ART. II.—WEALTH AND POVERTY—LUXURY AND ECONOMY.

WE find the following passage in the twenty-second chapter of Dr. Van Evrie's work on negro slavery: "A political economist, of great eminence, has made an estimate of the present wealth of England, and declared, if equally divided, every man, woman and child in England would have ten thousand pounds, or fifty thousand dollars, and yet supposes that there are ten millions of people who never own a dollar beyond their daily support! The land is owned by some thirty-five thousand proprietors many of whom have large parks, containing many thousand acres, filled with game and left untilld, while millions of men and women of their own race, their own kind, are without a single foot of that which God designed for the common sustenance and support of all! Education, moral development,

and happiness, must go hand in hand with these things, of course; indeed, it is a truth that should always be recognized when estimating the well-being of masses of men, that their moral and physical well-being are necessarily inseparable."

At first view all this looks right bad—quite wrong—very unfair, an open violation of our immortal Declaration of Independence, and of the French socialistic *sans culotte* principle of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Mr. Seward and Mr. Greeley, who are determined every man in America shall have land to till (we beg they will excuse us), must be horrified at this gross inequality of condition among white men, who are by nature equal.

Now, we will play Jupiter, and with a few strokes of the pen change all this. *En ego, jam faciam quod vultis*. "Every man, woman and child in England shall have an equal share of the land *to till*, and an equal share of all other property—shall be worth fifty thousand dollars each. Why hesitate? Why not take your several shares?" "You can't till your lands," you say. "Don't know how, even if you did not, with fifty thousand dollars, feel above ploughing and hoeing." You, again, "can't cook your own victuals, and can't hire any body to cook for you." "Besides, there will be no meat in market, for no one will condescend to drive a market-cart." "There will be no weavers, no tailors, no sewing women, no shoemakers, no hatters, no carpenters, no blacksmiths, no colliers—in fine, no grain, no food, no houses, no instruments of agriculture, no fire—everybody will be rich, and everybody above work. Worst of all, there will be no servants. Our riches will not command a cent." "Stop, 'dear Jupiter,' for we find that dividing all property equally, destroys, immediately, all property—it ceases to exist as property, to have any value, because it no longer commands human labor. We now find that there is no other property except property in man; what we used to consider property is a mere agency that gives command of human labor, or the amassed result of human labor. Do, therefore, for pity's sake, 'dear Jupiter,' not ruin us by granting our petition. All who did not perish would turn savages, for no one would produce luxury or fashionable comforts for their own consumption. Slavery to capital keeps our people at work, sustains civilization, and supports our mighty population!" But we see a small squad, among them Seward, and Greeley, and Wendell Philips, and Brougham, and very many half-starved, half-naked Frenchmen, and Infidel Germans, flanked by a crowd of unsexed women, and free

negroes, who exclaim, "Go on, Jupiter!" "Give us liberty, or give us death!" "The savage state is the natural state, and nature is from God! there is no other God!" "Let us go back to the savage state! Millions, many millions, must die; but Bacon, a philosopher like ourselves, has said, 'it is as natural to die as to be born.'" "It will be far more natural now, when we are resolved to reduce our numbers, so that we may live on game and acorns, and dwell in caves, and dress in skins, like our glorious ancestry, before the days of Roman invasion!" "Go on, Jupiter! nature is God!—the only God recognized by philosophers, abolitionists, wise women, free lovers, geologists, free negroes, agrarians, anarchists, Jeffersonians, spiritualists, Millerites, Mormons, Chartists, fish-women, proletariats, cannibals, sans culottes, red republicans, black ditto, and Yankees! Go on, Jupiter! Put the meanest and vilest, the most ignorant, criminal, licentious, cowardly agrarian and infidel uppermost—they constitute the majority—and the majority have a right to rule!" No doubt many of the socialists and abolitionists understand that to divide property is to abolish it, because it would set all men free, and that, in truth, property in man is the only property. No doubt some of them foresee that, property equalized, all men would become savage, for no man, if left to liberty and nature, if he were sane, would labor more than enough to supply his pressing animal wants.

If property were divided in England, the population would become savage, and the island could not possibly sustain more than a half million of savages, not one of whom would enjoy one half the comforts of life that are now enjoyed by the poorest laborer in the land.

It is the appropriation of the property by a few, and the consequent enslavement (to capital) of the millions, that keeps the people at work, and provides a fund for the support of all. The landless must work or starve, and work for the land-owners, as well as for themselves; but thus forced to work, their wages, that is, so much of the products of their labor as they are permitted to retain, is quadruple what they would voluntarily produce, if they were freemen and savages, with lands of their own. Fashion, and conventional necessity, compel men to labor to get clothes and houses, in the civilized state, but no such fashion or conventional necessity can possibly exist, when lands are unappropriated, and all men may live as they please.

Sociology is the most interesting and useful of all branches

of moral science ; yet how little has it been studied. Its study would do more to content men with their lot, and "justify the ways of God to man," than all other studies whatever. Inequality of condition, and the slavery of the many to the few, would be found to be necessary agencies in promoting man's well-being, and in elevating him from the savage to the civilized state. With what tremulous hand would the conscientious sociologist touch the wondrous fabric of English society in order to make the slightest change or reform. Under the system of slavery, first of domestic slavery, afterwards of slavery to capital, a barren isle has become fertile ; a wilderness has been connected with cultivated fields teeming with grain and other crops ; a few hundred thousand half naked, almost houseless, starving savages, have multiplied to eighteen millions of civilized Christians, the poorest of whom is better provided for than any of those savages. How could we better things ? The wealthy are sufficiently employed in supervising their property, keeping the poor at work, and laying up that hoard of food, clothing, and other provisions, that must support the old and helpless poor, the unemployed poor, and the rich besides. In general, they play the part of Joseph in Egypt, and play it well, for there are no great famines in England. If the rich and independent were numerous, there would be fewer common laborers, fewer producers, and the support of all would be thrown on a smaller number. This change would not improve, but injure the condition of society. In Japan almost one half the people are a privileged class, who act as overseers of the lower or laboring class. From this two great evils arise. The laborers are too few, and have to work too much. Secondly, the privileged class, being numerous, are poor ; neither require nor can pay for costly and elaborate articles of mechanical or artistic skill. They can sustain only a low civilization, for they can pay for none other, nor compel any other ; for the laborers have their hands full in producing necessities.

We know the social condition of England would be infinitely better if the lowest laboring class were domestic slaves ; for masters are always present, and infinitely more humane and generous than the overseers of the poor-houses. The whole weight of society falls upon the most feeble, indigent, weak, and ignorant laboring class. They are taxed alike by skill and capital. They are not only slaves alone to the property-holders, but slaves to lease-holders, professional men, merchants, artists, mechanics, in fact they are slaves to all above them ; for all above them *exploitate* or tax them by exchanging a

small amount of skilful labor for a large amount of common labor. The needle-woman works a hundred days for twenty-five dollars, and gives it as a fee to her lawyer for his one day's work. This is the exploitation of skill; this is the slavery of common labor to skilful labor. But the landlord gives the needle-woman none of his labor, or of anybody else's labor, in return for the rent she pays. He charges enough rent to pay six per cent. on his capital invested in his house, and to renew the house when it decays, say ten per cent. on the cost of the house. Thus he gets six per cent. on his capital, which represents his or some one else's labor, and keeps that capital intact. Capital commands labor—pays it not a cent. Skill pays a little skilful labor for a great deal of common labor. Skill thus throws on common labor the tax which itself has to pay to capital. Capital and skill combine in exploiting, taxing, screwing down common labor to the minimum that will support human existence. Thus the whole weight of society is thrown upon its feeblest members, with no protection save the poor-house. This is the English, this is the Northern system of society. Domestic slavery thoroughly and entirely relieves the subtraction of society, the common laborers, from the undue pressure from above. The slave is equally well fed, clothed, and housed, whether he is young or old, sick or well, employed or unemployed, idle or industrious. He has not a single care for the present or the future. He is effectually insured against all contingencies. Under a system of domestic slavery, no one who has common sense would undertake to say that the situation of the wealthy, the noble, the powerful, was happier than that of the negro slave. A negro slave with a master is the happiest of beings. A white slave without a master the most wretched, miserable, and unfortunate of all God's creatures. It is a fact, that all Southern slaves are happy—none are melancholy, none tired of, or dissatisfied with life—none commit suicide, for none are underfed and over-worked—none suffering in the present, or apprehensive of the future. The only difficulty about slavery, as Dr. Van Evrie truly remarks, is, is it the best form of society for the master race? That question we will not now discuss.

Seeing, as we do, that domestic slavery would remedy the enormous evils suffered by the laboring class in England, we would yet fear to introduce it. Slaves work so little that, if the laborers of England were slaves, we fear that the products of their labor would not suffice to support half the present population. Besides, slaves consume twice as much bread



and four times as much meat as free laborers. England could not sustain half its present population if its common laborers were slaves; and we would introduce no new system, the first effect of which would be, to exterminate half the population.

Nor would we introduce slavery, not even negro slavery, at the North. Although, for want of fixed entailed properties, competition is fiercer there than in Europe, and panics and failures far more common and disastrous, yet, generally, wages are good and employment abundant. When these fail, the unsettled lands of the West furnish an outlet to unemployed laborers. In new countries, the advantages of free competition overbalances its evils.

Could a system of society be devised that would combine the competitive feature of free society with the protective feature of slave society, it would be preferable to either.

Wealth is but the command of human labor. Adam Smith, and the other political economists of modern times, in effect say this, when they say that human labor is the measure of value.

To endeavor to acquire wealth, is to engage in the slave-trade. To acquire it, is to acquire slaves. The man at the North who makes fifty thousand dollars, and lends it out, or invests it at six per cent., commands three thousand dollars value of white labor per annum—for white labor creates his income. The man at the South who buys fifty thousand dollars worth of negroes, and hires them out, lives in like manner by command of human labor. Neither pays labor; but preserves his capital intact.

Yet wealth is a good and desirable thing, not only for its owners, but for society. It stimulates the poor to industry and exertion, begets and sustains civilization, and provides the means for the support of all in times of need and threatened famine. It is only in countries like Ireland, where all are poor, that famine proves very disastrous.

But poverty is a still better thing than wealth, for the labor of the poor produces all the necessities, the comforts, and the luxuries of life—produces them not from choice but from necessity. The rich in effect say to the poor, "This world is ours, and you may live in it on condition you will work for us." "We will allow all of you enough of the proceeds of your own labor to subsist on." "But to you who fabricate for us the luxuries and elegancies of life, we will make large and ample allowance." "You shall share with us the proceeds in common." "Though slaves yourselves, you shall have

slaves under you." Now, this feature of free society begets competition, encourages skill and inventiveness, and rapidly advances civilization. Slave society is defective in this respect, for it pays the skilful and unskilful slaves alike. In doing so, it relieves the social substratum of undue pressure from all above, but does not stimulate invention and skill. Luxury and frugality, economy and extravagance, are each virtues or vices under different and varying circumstances.

We have shown that luxury promotes civilization; but economy and frugality must also be practised, even by the rich, else there will be no fund laid up for future contingencies, no accumulated capital, no permanent improvements. In this life we are always steering between Scylla and Charybdis. Our virtues daily degenerate into vices by being pursued too far; for vice is but virtue in excess. Just at this time our duty is plain enough. Self-denial, economy, frugality, and parsimony, should be practised. Our country may require one third our incomes, and the poorest man in the South may reduce his expenses of living one third, and yet not starve. The rich set the fashions. In times of peace and plenty, it is mean in them not to live sumptuously; they encourage industry and skill, and promote civilization by so doing. But now, a different duty devolves on them. Let them show the example of self-abnegation, of cheap and simple living. Let them dress in homespun, and encourage home industry. Let their tables be furnished with dishes the products of the South, and their persons clothed only in Southern manufactures. Let them imitate Roman simplicity, Roman courage, and Roman patriotism. Let them live for country, and not for self. One hour of such life, with its noble feelings, sentiments, and aspirations, is worth an age of luxurious sensuality. Mere animal life in man is no better, no more respectable, than the life of the brute. He is a brute who, on occasions like the present, can find no other use for his riches, than to keep his body comfortable and feast his senses. Luxury is now a crime; economy and frugality, the first of virtues, and the most incumbent of duties. It will be easy to support the expenses of a protracted war, if we learn to live half as cheaply as Frenchmen. It is easy so to live, and yet enjoy health and happiness. Fashion, pride, and vanity, alone prevent it. The rich set the fashions, and if they will give up their usual indulgences, and set an example of simplicity, frugality, economy, and industry of life, they will perform thereby a patriotic duty, and entitle themselves to the lasting gratitude and

respect of their fellow-countrymen. We have brave men enough to conduct war. We only need money. By cheap living, we can save money enough to defray the expenditures of war, however long.

Even in case of peaceable secession, many sectional questions must remain unsettled, and there will be a probability of war for years to come. By practice of economy we will have a surplus fund to purchase arms, build ships, erect and equip forts, and to discipline troops. By preparing for war we may avoid it; or, if it come, win victory, instead of suffering defeat. The economy of Philip of Macedon furnished the means with which his son Alexander conquered the world. The economy of Frederick William enabled his son, Frederick the Great, to fight and flog all Europe for seven long years. Let us remember, and strive to rival these illustrious examples. Besides, we must become independent of all nations, and can only do so by learning to live within ourselves; to eat and to wear home-made and home-spun. We should be none the less comfortable—and if the rich will but set the example—none the less fashionable.

Our young men pant for battle, and our girls and matrons breathe the *ardor militaire*. All we need is money—and to get money we have only to save money.

Wealth, pomp, equipage, pageantry, sensuality, afford no pleasures so high or exalted as patriotism. The dying patriot is happier than the glutton or the gourmand in the midst of his indulgences.

“Dulce et decorum est, pro patria mori!”

The soldier is ready to sacrifice his life for his country; can't the civilian sacrifice a dinner, remit a glass of wine, give up his broadcloth and his carriage? These enjoyments now constitute his respectability, now give him grade in society, now make him a gentleman; but to forego them will make him more than respectable, more than a fashionable gentleman—will make him a patriot and a man.

The moral and the physical world are kept alive by antagonisms. There is nothing of itself and by itself, good or evil, in either. 'Tis the due balance of conflicting powers that constitutes the health of each. This balance is never steady, but all things moral and physical are continually oscillating as one or the other of the conflicting powers predominates. Evil is but the undue preponderance of either power. 'Tis the whole business of philosophy (or rather of our moral pathology) to

watch the oscillations or symptoms, and apply the proper remedy. Peace has its evils as well as war. They are equally necessary in the economy of the moral world. "The canker of a bad world and a long peace" corrodes and corrupts, and enervates mankind, and war is needed to restore its health, vigor and purity. Luxury and frugality, economy and prodigality, parsimony and extravagance, are each right or wrong under different circumstances.

We have ever considered that the book of Ecclesiastes contained more profound thought, and more sound philosophy, than any other work. Like the first satire of Horace, and the tenth or golden satire of Juvenal, it inculcates a system of moral pathology :

"To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven.

"A time to get, and a time to lose ; a time to keep, and a time to spend ; a time of war, and a time of peace."

We never could read a regular built treatise on philosophy, from title page to finis, and have resolved to insinuate and administer our moral pathology in broken doses. The reader of this essay will have swallowed one of our philosophic pills—whether "gilded" or not, he must determine.

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### ART. III.—UNITY OF MANKIND.

"THE TESTIMONY OF MODERN SCIENCE TO THE UNITY OF MANKIND ; being a Summary of the conclusions announced by the highest authorities in the several departments of Physiology, Zoology, and Comparative Philology, in favor of the specific unity and common origin of all the varieties of man. By J. L. Cabell, M. D., Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology in the University of Virginia. Published by ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS, New-York, 1859."

THE object of the author of this learned work, is to give the conclusions of the very latest scientific investigations on the subject of the unity of the human races.

To this end, in discussing the subject, he first presents the arguments deduced from an examination of the animal world, giving definitions of species, and their varieties ; showing that permanent varieties of animals have been produced by accident ; citing numerous well authenticated cases in proof of the fact ; also that food and climate often produced fixed and permanent varieties, and frequently in an incomparably short space of time.

Illustrating his arguments by numerous tests, by which to discriminate between species and varieties, some of which are derived from physiological conformity, and also from the phenomena of hybridity; recognizing incidentally that these principles apply as fully to mankind as to the animal world generally, and that physiological conformity is the true criterion of specific unity, the author then applies these principles which he has just discussed to the specific relations of the races of men—illustrating his arguments by historical facts; commenting upon the gradational series among the American and the African races; producing the testimony of Baron Humboldt, Professor Owen, Professor Müller, Professor Draper, and Dr. Prichard, in favor of the doctrine advocated, and reviewing the argument in regard to the psychological unity of man.

Part second discusses the question of the single or plural origin, and incidentally of the antiquity of the human species, embracing the theory of Professor Agassiz, with strictures upon it, exhibiting the zoological theories of several learned professors, and giving their arguments on the same subject. Our author very learnedly arrays the arguments and proofs of the community of origin derived from linguistic affinities; and in this chapter he draws valuable aid from Humboldt, Chevalier Bunsen, Dr. Max Müller, and Dr. Pickering, and shows conclusively by his researches in comparative philology, that the theory of a diversity of languages is untenable. The science of philology "proves what our religious records postulate, that the civilization of mankind is not a patchwork of incoherent fragments, not an inorganic complex of various courses of development, starting from numerous beginnings, flowing in isolated beds, and destined only to disappear in order to make room for other tribes running the same course in monotonous rotation. Far beyond all other documents, there is preserved in language that sacred tradition of primeval thought and art, which connects all the historical families of mankind; not only as brethren by descent, but each as the depository of a phase of one and the same development." "Thus a second science has born its marvellous testimony. Rising one more step, and passing more completely to a higher region," it proves the rational and moral nature of man of every age, kindred, and nation the same.

And although we do not profess to be a savant in these several branches of knowledge, yet, from a very careful reading of this work, we are prepared to say, it is one of the very best



books we have ever read on the main subject upon which it treats, or kindred subjects thereto.

There is an elevation of style and an expansiveness of thought, that invigorates the intellect with the highest order of mental conceptions, whilst at the same time the argument is so convincing, and so readily apprehended, that you are irresistibly led to admire its force and truthfulness.

We claim to belong to that class of readers that cheerfully and candidly acknowledge the exhibition of decided talent, wherever it may be found; and well do we remember, when several years ago that great work, "*The Vestiges of Creation*," was read by us, how we devoured its pages, realizing that they contained the thoughts of a powerful thinker, and we involuntarily bowed before the mighty intellect, although we then, as now, believe it has been ignobly perverted.

With regard to the book before us, we learn that it was not the intention of the author originally to do more than contribute a few articles to the "*Protestant Episcopal Register*," in review of Nott and Gliddon's "*Types of Mankind*." The articles grew in number and importance, until the friends of science demanded their publication in a more permanent form.

Professor Cabell approaches the discussion of the great question he treats upon entirely from the scientific side, and brings an array of authority that perfectly overwhelms his opponents; he exhibits deep research in his investigations, and brings to bear the writings of the most eminent men, not only of the past, but down to the present period. In addition to those we have named, Darwin, Dana, Hugh Miller, Silliman, Lyell, Count Gobineau, and those recent French geologists, D'Orbigny, and Gente, and shows that true science contributes uncontradicted testimony in favor of the unity of mankind.

We are the more gratified with the appearance of this work at this time, for there are those who advocate the present relation of the lower cast of races among us, on the ground that the Mosaic account of the origin of the human family from one pair, is not true.

The man of science will see at once that it is only weakening the argument on the subject of domestic slavery, to contend for the negro a separate creation. There is no necessity for it, and to sustain it you must discard revelation; and that, with the enlightenment of the present day, renders it obnoxious to all Christianity. "Thus saith the Lord," is

far more potent in convincing men of the path of duty, or of right, than all reasoning based upon supposed hypothesis.

Our author says, "We trust that those who, in the providence of God, have been placed in that part of our common country in which the African race is held in servitude, will not be induced, by the weak reasoning of a shallow book, to put themselves in a false position before the Christian world, and foolishly to seize upon a scientific error, as a mode of asserting rights which have been guaranteed by the federal compacts, and which are incidental to relations, recognized and sanctioned by the great apostle to the Gentiles."

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#### ART. IV.—THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

The distinguished reputation of the author of the article which follows, Dr. J. H. Thornwell, of South Carolina, will entitle him to be heard in every part of the land, and we, therefore, contrary to our usual custom, republish it from the "Southern Presbyterian Review," to be preserved side by side for future reference and study, with the similar production of Dr. Palmer, of New-Orleans, which appeared in our February number.—[EDITOR.]

926  
It is now universally known that, on the twentieth day of last December, the people of South Carolina, in convention assembled, solemnly annulled the ordinance by which they became members of the federal Union, entitled the United States of America, and resumed to themselves the exercise of all the powers which they had delegated to the federal Congress. South Carolina has now become a separate and independent State. She takes her place as an equal among the other nations of the earth. This is certainly one of the most grave and important events of modern times. It involves the destiny of a continent, and through that continent the fortunes of the human race. As it is a matter of the utmost moment that the rest of the world, and especially that the people of the United States, should understand the causes which have brought about this astounding result, we propose, in a short article, and in a candid and dispassionate spirit, to explain them, and to make an appeal, both to the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, touching their duty in the new and extraordinary aspect which affairs have assumed. That there was a cause, and an adequate cause, might be presumed from the character of the convention which passed the ordinance of secession, and the perfect unanimity with which it was done. That convention was not a collection of demagogues and politicians. It was not a conclave of defeated place-hunters, who sought to avenge their disappointment by the ruin of their country. It was a body of sober, grave, and venerable men, selected from every pursuit in life, and distinguished, most of them, in

their respective spheres, by every quality which can command confidence and respect. It embraced the wisdom, moderation, and integrity of the bench, the learning and prudence of the bar, and the eloquence and piety of the pulpit. It contained retired planters, scholars, and gentlemen, who had stood aloof from the turmoil and ambition of public life, and were devoting an elegant leisure—*otium cum dignitate*—to the culture of their minds, and to quiet and unobtrusive schemes of Christian philanthropy. There were men in that convention who were utterly incapable of low and selfish schemes; who, in the calm serenity of their judgments, were as unmoved by the waves of popular passion and excitement, as the everlasting granite by the billows that roll against it. There were men there who would have listened to no voice but what they believed to be the voice of reason, and would have bowed to no authority but what they believed to be the authority of God. There were men there who would not have been controlled by "uncertain opinion," nor betrayed into "sudden counsels;" men who could act from nothing, in the noble language of Milton, "but from mature wisdom, deliberate virtue, and dear affection to the public good." That convention, in the character of its members, deserves every syllable of the glowing panegyric which Milton has pronounced upon the immortal Parliament of England, which taught the nations of the earth that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. Were it not invidious, we might single out names, which, wherever they are known, are regarded as synonymous with purity, probity, magnanimity, and honor. It was a noble body, and all their proceedings were in harmony with their high character. In the midst of intense agitation and excitement, they were calm, cool, collected, and self-possessed. They deliberated without passion, and concluded without rashness. They sat with closed doors, that the tumult of the populace might not invade the sobriety of their minds.

If a stranger could have passed from the stirring scenes with which the streets of Charleston were alive, into the calm and quiet sanctuary of this venerable council, he would have been impressed with the awe and veneration which subdued the rude Gaul, when he first beheld in senatorial dignity the conscript fathers of Rome. That, in such a body, there was not a single voice against the ordinance of secession; that there was not only no dissent, but that the assent was cordial and thorough-going, is a strong presumption that the measure was justified by the clearest and sternest necessities of justice and of right. That such an assembly should have inaugurated and completed a radical revolution in all the external relations of the State, in the face of acknowledged dangers, and at the risk of enormous sacrifices, and should have done it gravely, soberly, dispassionately, deliberately, and yet have done it without cause, transcends all the measures of probability. Whatever else may be said of it, it certainly must be admitted that this solemn act of South Carolina was well considered.

In her estimate of the magnitude of her danger, she has been seconded by every other slaveholding State. While we are writing, the

telegraphic wires announce what the previous elections had prepared us to expect—that Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, have followed her example. They also have become separate and independent States. Three other States have taken the incipient steps for the consummation of the same result. And the rest of the slaveholding States are hanging by a single thread to the Union—the slender thread of hope—that guarantees may be devised which shall yet secure to them their rights. But even they proclaim that, without such guarantees, their wrongs are intolerable, and they will not longer endure them. Can any man believe that the secession of four sovereign States, under the most solemn circumstances, the determination of others to follow as soon as the constituted authorities can be called together, and the universal sentiment of all, that the Constitution of the United States has been virtually repealed, and that every slaveholding State has just ground for secession—can any man believe that this is a factitious condition of the public mind of the South, produced by brawling politicians and disappointed demagogues, and not the calm, deliberate, profound utterance of a people who feel, in their inmost souls, that they have been deeply and flagrantly wronged? The presumption clearly is, that there is something in the attitude of the government which portends danger, and demands resistance. There must be a cause for this intense and pervading sense of injustice and of injury.

It has been suggested, by those who know as little of the people of the South as they do of the Constitution of their country, that all this ferment is nothing but the result of a mercenary spirit on the part of the cotton-growing States, fed by Utopian dreams of aggrandizement and wealth, to be realized under the auspices of free trade, in a separate confederacy of their own. It has been gravely insinuated that they are willing to sell their faith for gold—that they have only made a pretext of recent events to accomplish a foregone scheme of deliberate treachery and fraud. That there is not the slightest ground in anything these States have ever said or done for this extraordinary slander, it is, of course, superfluous to add. The South has, indeed, complained of the unequal administration of the government. Her best and purest statesmen have openly avowed the opinion, that, in consequence of the partial legislation of Congress, she has borne burdens, and experienced inconveniences, which have retarded her own prosperity, while they have largely contributed to develop the resources of the North. But grievances of this kind, unless greatly exaggerated, never would have led to the dissolution of the Union. They would have been resisted in it, or patiently borne until they could be lawfully redressed. So far from contending for an arbitrary right to dissolve the Union, or the right to dissolve it on merely technical grounds, the South sets so high a value on good faith, that she would never have dissolved it for slight and temporary wrongs, even though they might involve such a violation, on the part of her confederates, of the terms of the compact, as released her from

any further obligation of honor. It is, therefore, preposterous to say, that any dreams, however dazzling, of ambition and avarice, could have induced her to disregard her solemn engagements to her sister States, while they were faithfully fulfilling the conditions of the contract. We know the people of the South; and we can confidently affirm, that if they had been assured that all these golden visions could have been completely realized by setting up for themselves, as long as the Constitution of the United States continued to be sincerely observed, they would have spurned the temptation to purchase national greatness by perfidy. They would have preferred poverty, with honor, to the gain of the whole world by the loss of their integrity.

When it was perceived that the tendency of events was inevitably driving the South to disunion, a condition from which she at first recoiled with horror, then she began to cast about for considerations to reconcile her to her destiny. Then, for the first time, was it maintained, that, instead of being a loser, she might be a gainer by the measure which the course of the government was forcing upon her. It was alleged that good would spring from evil; that the prospect of independence was brighter and more cheering than her present condition—that she had much to anticipate, and little to dread, from the contemplated change. But these considerations were not invented to *justify* secession—they were only adduced as motives to reconcile the mind to its necessity. Apart from that necessity, they would have had as little weight in determining public opinion, as the small dust of the balance. We do not believe, when the present controversy began, that the advocates of what is called disunion *per se*, men who preferred a Southern Confederacy upon the grounds of its intrinsic superiority to the constitutional union of the United States, could have mustered a corporal's guard. The people of the South were loyal to the country, and if the country had been true to them, they would have been as ready to-day to defend its honor with their fortunes and their blood, as when they raised its triumphant flag upon the walls of Mexico.

It has also been asserted, as a ground of dissatisfaction with the present government, and of desire to organize a separate government of their own, that the cotton-growing States are intent upon re-opening, as a means of fulfilling their magnificent visions of wealth, the African slave-trade. The agitation of this subject at the South has been grievously misunderstood. One extreme generates another. The violence of Northern abolitionists gave rise to a small party among ourselves, who were determined not to be outdone in extravagance. They wished to show that they could give a Rowland for an Oliver. Had abolitionists never denounced the domestic trade as plunder and robbery, not a whisper would ever have been breathed about disturbing the peace of Africa. The men who were loudest in their denunciations of the government had, with very few exceptions, no more desire to have the trade re-opened than the rest of their countrymen; but they delighted in teasing their enemies. They took



special satisfaction in providing hard nuts for abolitionists to crack. There were others, not at all in favor of the trade, who looked upon the law as unconstitutional which declared it to be piracy. But the great mass of the Southern people were content with the law as it stood. They were and are opposed to the trade—not because the traffic in slaves is immoral—that not a man among us believes—but because the traffic with Africa is *not* a traffic in slaves. It is a system of kidnapping and man-stealing, which is as abhorrent to the South as it is to the North; and we venture confidently to predict, that should a Southern Confederacy be formed, the African slave-trade is much more likely to be re-opened by the old government than the new. The conscience of the North will be less tender when it has no Southern sins to bewail, and idle ships will naturally look to the government to help them in finding employment.

The real cause of the intense excitement of the South, is not vain dreams of national glory in a separate Confederacy, nor the love of the filthy lucre of the African slave-trade; it is the profound conviction that the Constitution, in its relations to slavery, has been virtually repealed; that the government has assumed a new and dangerous attitude upon this subject; that we have, in short, new terms of union submitted to our acceptance or rejection. Here lies the evil. The election of Lincoln, when properly interpreted, is nothing more nor less than a proposition to the South to consent to a government, fundamentally different upon the question of slavery, from that which our fathers established. If this point can be made out, secession becomes not only a right, but a bounden duty. Morally, it is only the abrogation of the forms of a contract, when its essential conditions have been abolished. Politically, it is a measure indispensable to the safety, if not to the very existence, of the South. It is needless to say that, in this issue, the personal character of Mr. Lincoln is not at all involved. There are no objections to him as a man, or as a citizen of the North. He is probably entitled, in the private relations of life, to all the commendations which his friends have bestowed upon him. We, at least, would be the last to detract from his personal worth. The issue has respect, not to the man, but to the principles upon which he is pledged to administer the government, and which, we are significantly informed, are to be impressed upon it in all time to come. His election seals the triumph of those principles, and that triumph seals the subversion of the Constitution, in relation to a matter of paramount interest to the South.

This we shall proceed to show, by showing, first, the constitutional attitude of the government toward slavery, and then the attitude which, after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, it is to assume and maintain forever:

I. What now is its constitutional attitude? We affirm it to be *one of* ABSOLUTE INDIFFERENCE OR NEUTRALITY, with respect to all questions connected with the moral and political aspects of the subject. In the eye of the Constitution, slave-holding and non-slave-

holding stand upon a footing of perfect equality. The slave-holding State and the slave-holding citizen are the same to it as the non-slave-holding. It protects both; it espouses the peculiarities of neither. It does not allow the North to say to the South, your institutions are inferior to ours, and should be changed; neither does it allow the South to say to the North, you must accommodate yourselves to us. It says to both, enjoy your own opinions upon your own soil, so that you do not interfere with the rights of each other. To me there is no difference betwixt you. Formed by parties whose divisive principle was this very subject of slavery, it stands to reason, that the Constitution, without self-condemnation on the part of one or the other, could not have been made the patron of either. From the very nature of the case, its position must be one of complete impartiality. This is what the South means by equality in the Union, that the general government shall make no difference betwixt its institutions and those of the North: that slaveholding shall be as good to it as non-slaveholding. In other words, the government is the organ of neither party, but the common agent of both; and, as their common agent, has no right to pronounce an opinion as to the merits of their respective peculiarities. This, we contend, is the attitude fixed by the Constitution. This government is neither pro nor anti-slavery. It is simply neutral. Had it assumed any other attitude upon this subject, it never would have been accepted by the slave-holding States. When Mr. Pinckney could rise up in the Convention and declare, that "if slavery be wrong, it is justified by the example of all the world;" when he could boldly appeal to the unanimous testimony of ancient and modern times—to Greece and Rome, to France, Holland, and England, in vindication of its righteousness, it is not to be presumed that he ever would have joined in the construction of a government which was authorized to pronounce and treat it as an evil! It is not to be presumed that the slave-holding States, unless they seriously aimed at the ultimate extinction of slavery, would have entered into an alliance which was confessedly to be turned against them. That they did not aim at the extinction of slavery, is clear, from the pertinacity with which some of them clung to the continuance of the African slave-trade, until foreign supplies should no longer be demanded. When Georgia and South Carolina made it a *sine qua non* for entering the Union, that this traffic should be kept open for a season, to say that those States meditated the abolition of slavery, is grossly paradoxical. It is remarkable, too, that the time fixed for the prohibition of this traffic, was a time within which the representatives of those States were persuaded that the States themselves, if the question was left to them, would prohibit it. These States conceded to the government the right to do, as their agent, only what they themselves would do, as sovereign communities, under the same circumstances. No presumption, therefore, of an attitude, on the part of the Constitution, hostile to slavery, can be deduced from the clause touching the African slave-trade. On the contrary, the presumption

is, that, as the trade was kept open for awhile—kept open, in fact, as long as the African supply was needed—the slave-holding States never meant to abolish the institution, and never could have consented to set the face of the government against it. No doubt the fathers of the Republic were, many of them, not all, opposed to slavery. But they had to frame a government which should represent, not their personal and private opinions, but the interests of sovereign States. They had to adjust it to the institutions of South Carolina and Georgia, as well as to those of New England. And they had the grace given them to impress upon it the only attitude which could conciliate and harmonize all parties—the attitude of perfect indifference.

This, at the same time, is the attitude of justice. We of the South have the same right to our opinions as the people of the North. They appear as true to us as theirs appear to them. We are as honest and sincere in forming and maintaining them. We unite to form a government. Upon what principle shall it be formed? Is it to be asked of us to renounce doctrines which we believe have come down to us from the earliest ages, and have the sanction of the oracles of God? Must we give up what we conscientiously believe to be the truth? The thing is absurd. The government, in justice, can only say to both parties: I will protect you both—I will be the advocate of neither.

In order to exempt slavery from the operation of this plain principle of justice, it has been contended that the right of property in slaves is the creature of positive statute, and, consequently, of force only within the limits of the jurisdiction of the law; that it is a right not recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and, therefore, not to be protected where Congress is the local legislature. These two propositions contain everything that has any show of reason for the extraordinary revolution which the recent election has consummated in the government of the United States.

They are both gratuitous:

(1.) In the first place, slavery has never, in any country, so far as we know, arisen under the operation of statute law. It is not a municipal institution—it is not the arbitrary creature of the State—it has not sprung from the mere force of legislation. Law defines, modifies, and regulates it, as it does every other species of property, but *law* never *created* it. The law found it in existence, and being in existence, the law subjects it to fixed rules. On the contrary, what is local and municipal, is the *abolition* of slavery. The States that are now non-slaveholding, have been made so by positive statute. Slavery exists, of course, in every nation, in which it is not prohibited. It arose, in the progress of human events, from the operation of moral causes; it has been grounded by philosophers in moral maxims; it has always been held to be moral by the vast majority of the race. No age has been without it. From the first dawn of authentic history, until the present period, it has come down to us through all the course of ages. We find it among nomadic tribes, barbarian hordes, and

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civilized States. Wherever communities have been organized, and any rights of property have been recognized at all, there slavery is seen. If, therefore, there be any property which can be said to be founded in the common consent of the human race, it is the property in slaves. If there be any property that can be called natural, in the sense that it spontaneously springs up in the history of the species, it is the property in slaves. If there be any property which is founded in principles of universal operation, it is the property in slaves. To say of an institution, whose history is thus the history of man, which has always and everywhere existed, that it is a local and municipal relation, is of "all absurdities the motliest, the merest word that ever fooled the ear from out the schoolman's jargon." Mankind may have been wrong—that is not the question. The point is, whether the law made slavery—whether it is the police regulation of limited localities, or whether it is a property founded in natural causes, and causes of universal operation. We say nothing as to the moral character of the causes. We insist only upon the fact that slavery is rooted in a common law, wider and more prevailing than the common law of England—THE UNIVERSAL CUSTOM OF MANKIND.

If, therefore, slavery is not municipal, but natural, if it is abolition which is municipal and local, then, upon the avowed doctrines of our opponents, two things follow: 1st. That slavery goes of right and as a matter of course into every territory from which it is not excluded by positive statute; and, 2d. That Congress is competent to forbid the Northern States from impressing their local peculiarity of non-slaveholding upon the common soil of the Union. If the Republican argument is good for anything, it goes the whole length of excluding for ever any additional non-slaveholding States from the Union. What would they think, if the South had taken any such extravagant ground as this? What would they have done, if the South had taken advantage of a numerical majority, to legislate them and their institutions for ever out of the common territory? Would they have *submitted*? Would they have glorified the Union, and yielded to the triumph of slavery? We know that they would not. They would have scorned the crotchet about municipal and local laws which divested them of their dearest rights. Let them give the same measure to others which they expect from others. It is a noble maxim, commended by high authority—do as you would be done by.

The South has neither asked for, nor does she desire, any exclusive benefits. All she demands is, that as South, as slaveholding, she shall be put upon the same footing with the North, as non-slaveholding—that the government shall not undertake to say, one kind of State is better than the other—that it shall have no preference as to the character, in this respect, of any future States to be added to the Union. Non-slaveholding may be superior to slaveholding, but it is not the place of the government to say so; much less to assume the right of saying so upon a principle which, properly applied, requires it to say the very reverse.

There is another sense in which municipal is opposed to international, and in this sense slavery is said to be municipal, because there is no obligation, by the law of nations, on the part of States in which slavery is prohibited, to respect within the limits of their own territory the rights of the foreign slaveholder. This is the doctrine laid down by Judge Story. No nation is bound to accord to a stranger a right of property which it refuses to its own subjects. We cannot, therefore, demand from the governments of France or England, or any other foreign power, whose policy and interests are opposed to slavery, the restoration of our fugitives from bondage. We are willing to concede, for the sake of argument, that the principle in question is an admitted principle of international law, though we are quite persuaded that it is contrary to the whole current of continental authorities, and is intensely English. We doubt whether, even in England, it can be traced beyond the famous decision of Lord Mansfield, in the case of *Somerset*. But let us admit the principle. What then? The Constitution of the United States has expressly provided that this principle shall not apply within the limits of federal jurisdiction. With reference to this country, it has abrogated the law; every State is bound to respect the right of the Southern master to his slave. The Constitution covers the whole territory of the Union, and throughout that territory has taken slavery under the protection of law. However foreign nations may treat our fugitive slaves, the States of this Confederacy are bound to treat them as property, and to give them back to their lawful owners. How idle, therefore, to plead a principle of international law, which, in reference to the relations of the States of this Union, is formally abolished! Slavery is clearly a part of the municipal law of the United States; and the whole argument, from the local character of the institution, falls to the ground. Slaveholding and non-slaveholding are both equally sectional, and both equally national.

(2.) As to the allegation that the Constitution nowhere recognizes the right of property in slaves, that is equally unfounded. We shall say nothing here of the decision of the Supreme Court, though that, one would think, is entitled to some consideration. We shall appeal to the Constitution itself, and if there is force in logic, we shall be able to make it appear that the right is not only recognized, but recognized with a philosophical accuracy and precision that seize only on the essential, and omit the variable and accidental. The subject, in the language of the Constitution, is transferred from the technicalities of law to the higher sphere of abstract and speculative morality. Morally considered, to what class does the slave belong? To the class of persons held to service. The two ideas that he is a person, and as a person held to service, constitute the generic conception of slavery. How is his obligation to service fundamentally different from that of other laborers? By this, as one essential circumstance, that it is independent of the formalities of contract. Add the circumstance that it is for life, and you have a complete conception of the thing.



You have the very definition, almost in his own words, which a celebrated English philosopher gives of slavery: "I define slavery," says Dr. Paley, "to be an obligation to labor for the benefit of the master, without the contract or consent of the servant."\*

Now, is such an obligation recognized in the Constitution of the United States? Are there persons spoken of in it who are held to service by a claim so sacred that the government allows them, however anxious they may be to do so, to dissolve it neither by stratagem nor force? If they run away, they must be remanded to those who are entitled to their labor, even if they escape to a territory whose local laws would otherwise protect them. If they appeal to force, the whole power of the Union may be brought to crush them. Can any man say that the Constitution does not here recognize a right to the labor and service of men, of persons, which springs from no stipulations of their own, is entirely independent of their own consent, and which can never be annulled by any efforts, whether clandestine or open, on their part? *This is slavery*—it is the very essence and core of the institution. That upon which the right of property terminates in the slave, is his service or labor. It is not his soul, nor his person, not his moral and intellectual nature—it is his *labor*. This is the thing which is bought and sold in the market, and it is in consequence of the right to regulate, control, and direct this, that the person comes under an obligation to obey. The ideas of a right on one side, and duty on the other, show that the slave, in this relation, is as truly a person as his master. The Constitution, therefore, does recognize and protect slavery, in every moral and ethical feature of it. The thing which, under that name, has commanded the approbation of mankind, is the very thing, among others analogous to it, included in the third clause of the second section of the fourth chapter of the Constitution. We see no way of getting round this argument. It is idle to say that slaves are not referred to—it is equally idle to say that the right to their labor is not respected and guarded. Let this right be acknowledged in the territories, and we are not disposed to ring changes upon words. Let the government permit the South to carry her persons held to service, without their consent, into the territories, and let the right to their labor be protected, and there would be no quarrel about slavery. It is unworthy of statesmen, in a matter of this sort, to quibble about legal technicalities. That the law of slaveholding States classes slaves among chattels, and speaks of them as marketable commodities, does not imply that, morally and ethically, they are not persons, nor that the property is in them, rather than in their toil. These same laws treat them in other respects as persons, and speak of their service as obedience or duty. The meaning of chattel is relative, and is to be restricted to the relation which it implies.

We are happy to find that the Supreme Court of the United States has fully confirmed the interpretation which we have given to this

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\* Moral Philos., III., c. 3.

clause of the Constitution. In the case of *Prigg vs. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*,\* it was asserted by every judge upon the bench, that the design of the provision was "to secure to the citizens of the slaveholding States the complete right and title of ownership in their slaves, as property, in every State in the Union into which they might escape from the State where they were held in servitude." These are the very words of Mr. Justice Story, in delivering the opinion of the Court. He went on to add: "The full recognition of this right and title was indispensable to the security of this species of property in all the slaveholding States; and, indeed, was so vital to the preservation of the domestic interests and institutions, that it cannot be doubted that it constituted a fundamental article, without the adoption of which the Union could not have been formed."† Again: "We have said that the clause contains a positive and unqualified recognition of the right of the owner in the slave."‡ Chief Justice Taney held: that, "by the national compact, this right of property is recognized as an existing right in every State of the Union."§ Judge Thompson said: the Constitution "affirms, in the most unequivocal manner, the right of the master to the service of his slave, according to the laws of the State under which he is so held."|| Judge Wayne affirmed that all the judges concurred "in the declaration that the provision in the Constitution was a compromise between the slaveholding and the non-slaveholding States, to secure to the former fugitive slaves as property."¶ "The paramount authority of this clause in the Constitution," says Judge Daniel, "to guarantee to the owner the right of property in his slave, and the absolute nullity of any State power, directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, aimed to impair that right, or to obstruct its enjoyment, I admit, nay, insist upon, to the fullest extent."\*\*\*

If, now, the Constitution recognizes slavery as property, that is, as persons to whose labor and service the master has a right, then, upon what principle shall Congress undertake to abolish this right upon a territory, of which it is the local legislature? It will not permit the slave to cancel it, because the service is due. Upon what ground can itself interpose between a man and his dues? Congress is as much the agent of the slaveholding as it is of the non-slaveholding States; and, as equally bound to protect both, and to hold the scales of justice even between them, it must guard the property of the one with the same care with which it guards the property of the other.

We have now refuted the postulates upon which the recent revolution in the government is attempted to be justified. We have shown that slavery is not the creature of local and municipal law, and that the Constitution distinctly recognizes the right of the master to the labor or service of the slave; that is, the right of property in slaves. There is no conceivable pretext, then, for saying that the government

\* 16 Peters, p. 539, *et seq.*

§ *Id.*, p. 629.

|| *Id.*, p. 634.

† *Id.*, p. 611.

¶ *Id.*, p. 637.

‡ *Id.*, p. 613.

\*\*\* *Id.*, p. 166.

should resist the circulation of this kind of property, more than any other. That question it must leave to the providence of God, and to the natural and moral laws by which its solution is conditioned. All that the government can do, is to give fair play to both parties, the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States; protect the rights of both on their common soil; and as soon as a sovereign State emerges, to which the soil is henceforward to belong, remit the matter to its absolute discretion. This is justice—this is the impartiality which becomes the agent of a great people, divided by two such great interests.

'That the rights of the South, as *slaveholding*—for it is in that relation only that she is politically a different section from the North—and the rights of the North, as *non-slaveholding*, are absolutely equal, is so plain a proposition, that one wonders at the pertinacity with which it has been denied. Here let us expose a sophism whose only force consists in a play upon words. It is alleged that the equality of the sections is not disturbed by the exclusion of slavery from the territories, because the Southern man may take with him all that the Northern man can take. The plain English of which is this: if the Southern man will consent to become as a Northern man, and renounce what distinguishes him as a *Southern* man, he may go into the territories. But if he insists upon remaining a *Southern* man, he must stay at home. The geography is only an accident in this matter. The Southern man, politically, is the slaveholder; the Northern man, politically, is the non-slaveholder. The rights of the South are the rights of the South as slaveholding; the rights of the North are the rights of the North as non-slaveholding. This is what makes the real difference betwixt the two sections. To exclude *slaveholding* is, therefore, to exclude the South. By the free-soil doctrine, therefore, she, as South, is utterly debarred from every foot of the soil, which belongs, of right, as much to her as to her Northern confederates. The Constitution is made to treat her institutions as if they were a scandal and reproach. It becomes the patron of the North, and an enemy, instead of a protector to her.

That this is the attitude which the government is henceforward to assume, we shall now proceed to show:

(1.) In the first place, let it be distinctly understood, that we do not charge the great body of the Northern people, who have accomplished the recent revolution, with being abolitionists, in a strict and technical sense. We are willing to concede that they have no design, for the present, to interfere directly with slavery in the slaveholding States. We shall give them credit for an honest purpose, under Mr. Lincoln's administration, to execute, as far as the hostility of the States will let them, the provisions of the fugitive slave law. All this may be admitted, but it does not affect the real issue, nor mitigate the real danger. We know that there are various types of opinion at the North, with reference to the moral aspects of slavery, and we have never apprehended that, under the Constitution as it stands, there was

any likelihood of an attempt to interfere, by legislation, with our property on our own soil.

(2.) But, in the second place, it must likewise be conceded that the general, almost the universal, attitude of the Northern mind is one of hostility to slavery. Those who are not prepared to condemn it as a sin, nor to meddle with it where it is legally maintained, are yet opposed to it as a natural and political evil, which every good man should desire to see extinguished. They all regard it as a calamity, an affliction, a misfortune. They regard it as an element of weakness, and as a drawback upon the prosperity and glory of the country. They pity the South, as caught in the folds of a serpent, which is gradually squeezing out her life. And, even when they defend us from the reproach of sin in sustaining the relation, they make so many distinctions between the abstract notion of slavery and the system of our own laws, that their defence would hardly avail to save us, if there were any power competent to hang and quarter us. We are sure that we do not misrepresent the general tone of Northern sentiment. It is one of *hostility* to slavery—it is one which, while it might not be willing to break faith, under the present administration, with respect to the express injunctions of the Constitution, is utterly and absolutely opposed to any further extension of the system.

(3.) In the third place, let it be distinctly understood that we have no complaint to make of the opinions of the North, considered simply as their opinions. They have a right, so far as human authority is concerned, to think as they please. The South has never asked them to approve of slavery, or to change their own institutions and to introduce it among themselves. The South has been willing to accord to them the most perfect and unrestricted right of private judgment.

(4.) But, in the fourth place, what we *do* complain of, and what we have a right to complain of, is that they should not be content with thinking their own thoughts themselves, but should undertake to make the *government* think them likewise. ) We of the South have, also, certain thoughts concerning slavery, and we cannot understand upon what principle the thinking of the South is totally excluded, and the thinking of the North made supreme. ) The government is as much ours as theirs, and we cannot see why, in a matter that vitally concerns ourselves, we shall be allowed to do no effective thinking at all. This is the grievance. The government is made to take the type of Northern sentiment—it is animated, in its relations to slavery, by the Northern mind, and the South, henceforward, is no longer of the government, but only *under* the government. ) The extension of slavery, in obedience to Northern prejudice, is to be forever arrested. Congress is to treat it as an evil, an element of political weakness, and to restrain its influence within the limits which now circumscribe it. All this because the *North thinks so*; while the South, an equal party to the government, has quite other thoughts. And when we indignantly complain of this absolute suppression of all right to think in and through our own government, upon a subject that involves our homes

and our firesides, we are coolly reminded, that, as long as Congress does not usurp the rights of our own legislatures, and abolish slavery on our own soil, nor harbor our fugitives when they attempt to escape from us, we have reason to be grateful for the indulgence accorded to us. The right to breathe is as much as we should venture to claim. You may exist, says freesoilism, as States, and manage your slaves at home—we will not abrogate your sovereignty. Your runaways we do not want, and we may occasionally send them back to you. But if you think you have a right to be heard at Washington upon this great subject, it is time that your presumption should be rebuked. The North is the thinking power—the soul of the government. The life of the government is Northern—not Southern. The type to be impressed upon all future States is Northern—not Southern. The North becomes the United States, and the South a subject province.

¶ Now, we say that this is a state of things not to be borne. A free people can never consent to their own degradation. We say boldly, that the government has no more right to adopt Northern thoughts on the subject of slavery than those of the South. It has no more right to presume that they are true. It has no right to arbitrate between them. It must treat them both with equal respect, and give them an equal chance. Upon no other footing can the South, with honor, remain in the Union. It is not to be endured for a moment, that fifteen sovereign States, embodying, in proportion to their population, as much intelligence, virtue, public spirit, and patriotism, as any other people upon the globe, should be quietly reduced to zero, in a government shaped by the principle that slavery is a blessing, would you endure it? Would not your blood boil, and would you not call upon your hungry millions to come to the rescue? And yet, this is precisely what you have done to us, and think we ought not to resist. You have made us ciphers, and are utterly amazed that we should claim to be anything.

¶ But, apart from the degradation which it inflicts upon the South, it may be asked, What real injury will result from putting the government in an attitude of hostility to slavery?

The answer is, in the first place, that it will certainly lead to the extinction of the system. You may destroy the oak as effectually by girdling it as by cutting it down. The North are well assured that if they can circumscribe the area of slavery, if they can surround it with a circle of non-slaveholding States, and prevent it from expanding, nothing more is required to secure its ultimate abolition. "Like the scorpion girt by fire," it will plunge its fangs into its own body, and perish. If, therefore, the South is not prepared to see her institutions surrounded by enemies, and wither and decay under these hostile influences, if she means to cherish and protect them, it is her bounden



duty to resist the revolution which threatens them with ruin. The triumph of the principles which Mr. Lincoln is pledged to carry out, is the death-knell of slavery.

In the next place, the state of the Northern mind which has produced this revolution cannot be expected to remain content with its present victory. It will hasten to other triumphs. The same spirit which has prevaricated with the express provisions of the Constitution, and resorted to expedients to evade the most sacred obligations, will not hesitate for a moment to change the Constitution when it finds itself in possession of the power. It will only be consistency to harmonize the fundamental law of the government with its chosen policy, the real workings of its life. The same hostility to slavery, which a numerical majority has impressed upon the federal legislature, it will not scruple to impress upon the federal Constitution. If the South could be induced to submit to Lincoln, the time, we confidently predict, will come when all grounds of controversy will be removed in relation to fugitive slaves, by expunging the provision under which they are claimed. The principle is at work and enthroned in power, whose inevitable tendency is to secure this result. Let us crush the serpent in the egg.

From these considerations, it is obvious that nothing more nor less is at stake in this controversy than the very life of the South. The real question is, whether she shall be politically annihilated. We are not struggling for fleeting and temporary interests. We are struggling for our very being. And none know better than the Republican party itself, that if we submit to their new type of government, our fate as slaveholding is forever sealed. They have already exulted in the prospect of this glorious consummation. They boast that they have laid a mine which must ultimately explode in our utter ruin. They are singing songs of victory in advance, and are confidently anticipating the auspicious hour when they shall have nothing to do but to return to the field and bury the dead.

The sum of what we have said is briefly this: We have shown that the constitutional attitude of the government toward slavery is one of absolute neutrality or indifference in relation to the moral and political aspects of the subject. We have shown, in the next place, that it is hereafter to take an attitude of hostility; that it is to represent the opinions and feelings exclusively of the North; that it is to become the government of one section over another; and that the South, as South, is to sustain no other relation to it but the duty of obedience.

This is a thorough and radical revolution. It makes a new Government—it proposes new and extraordinary terms of union. The old Government is as completely abolished as if the people of the United States had met in convention and repealed the Constitution. It is frivolous to tell us that the change has been made through the forms of the Constitution. This is to add insult to injury. What signify forms, when the substance is gone? Of what value is the shell,

when the kernel is extracted? Rights are things, and not words; and when the things are taken from us, it is no time to be nibbling at phrases. If a witness under oath designedly gives testimony, which, though literally true, conveys a false impression, is he not guilty of perjury? Is not his truth a lie? Temures kept the letter of his promise to the garrison of Sebastia, that if they would surrender no blood should be shed, but did that save him from the scandal of treachery in burying them alive? No man objects to the legality of the process of Mr. Lincoln's election. The objection is to the legality of that to which he is elected. He has been chosen, not to administer, but to revolutionize, the government. The very moment he goes into office, the Constitution of the United States, as touching the great question between North and South, is dead. The oath which makes him President, makes a new Union. The import of secession is simply the refusal on the part of the South to be parties to any such Union. She has not renounced, and if it had been permitted to stand, she never would have renounced, the Constitution which our fathers framed. She would have stood by it forever. But, as the North have substantially abolished it, and, taking advantage of their numbers, have substituted another in its place, which dooms the South to perdition, surely she has a right to say she will enter into no such conspiracy. The government to which she consented was a government under which she might hope to live. The new one presented in its place is one under which she can only die. Under these circumstances we do not see how any man can question either the righteousness or the necessity of secession. The South is shut up to the duty of rejecting these new terms of Union. No people on earth, without judicial infatuation, can organize a government to destroy them. It is too much to ask a man to sign his own death-warrant.

II. We wish to say a few words as to the policy of the slaveholding States in the present emergency.

We know it is to be the fixed determination of them all not to acquiesce in the principles which have brought Mr. Lincoln into power. Several of them, however, have hesitated—and it is a sign of the scrupulous integrity of the South in maintaining her faith—whether the mere fact of his election, apart from any overt act of the government, is itself a *casus belli*, and a sufficient reason for extreme measures of resistance. These States have, also, clung to the hope that there would yet be a returning sense of justice at the North, which shall give them satisfactory guarantees for the preservation of their rights, and restore peace without the necessity of schism. We respect the motives which have produced this hesitation. We have no sympathy with any taunting reflections upon the courage, magnanimity, public spirit, or patriotism of such a commonwealth as Virginia. The mother of Washington is not to be insulted, if, like her great hero, she takes counsel of moderation and prudence. We honor, too, the sentiment which makes it hard to give up the Union. It was a painful struggle to ourselves; the most painful struggle of our lives. There

were precious memories and hallowed associations, connected with a glorious history, to which the heart of man cannot bid farewell without a pang. A Few men, in all the South, brought themselves to pronounce the word DISUNION without sadness of heart. Some States have not yet been able to pronounce it. But the tendency of events is irresistible. It is becoming every day clearer that the people of the North hate slavery more than they love the Union, and they are developing this spirit in a form which must soon bring every slaveholding State within the ranks of secession. The evil day may be put off, but it must come. The country must be divided into two people, and the point which we wish now to press upon the whole South is, the importance of preparing, at once, for this consummation.

The slaveholding interest is one, and it seems to us clear that the slaveholding States ought speedily to be organized under one general government. United, they are strong enough to maintain themselves against the world. They have the territory, the resources, the population, the public spirit, the institutions, which, under a genial and fostering Constitution, would soon enable them to become one of the first people upon the globe. And if the North shall have wisdom to see her true policy, two governments upon this continent may work out the problem of human liberty more successfully than one. Let the two people maintain the closest alliance for defence against a foreign foe, or, at least, let them be agreed that no European power shall ever set foot on American soil, and that no type of government but the republican shall ever be tolerated here, and what is to hinder the fullest and freest development of our noble institutions. The separation changes nothing but the external relations of the two sections. Such a dismemberment of the Union is not like the revolution of a State, where the internal system of government is subverted, where laws are suspended, and where anarchy reigns. The country might divide into two great nations to-morrow, without a jostle or a jar; the government of each State might go on as regularly as before, the laws be as supreme, and order as perfect, if the passions of the people could be kept from getting the better of their judgments. It is a great advantage in the form of our Confederacy, that a radical revolution can take place without confusion, and without anarchy. Every State has a perfect internal system at work already, and that undergoes no change, except in adjusting it to its altered external relations. Now, given this system of States, with every element of a perfect government in full and undisturbed operation, what is there in the circumstance of *one* Confederacy of *divided interests*, that shall secure a freer and safer development than *two Confederacies*, each representing an *undivided* interest? Are not two homogeneous Unions stronger than one that is heterogeneous? Should not the life of a government be one? We do not see, therefore, that anything will be lost to freedom by the union of the South under a separate government. They will carry into it every institution that she had before—her State constitutions, her legislatures, her courts of justice, her halls of learning—everything that she now

possesses. They will put these precious interests under a government embodying every principle which gave value to the old one, and amply adequate to protect them. What will she lose of real freedom? We confess that we cannot understand the declaration, that with the American Union, American institutions are gone. Each section of the Union will preserve them and cherish them. Every principle that has ever made us glorious, and made our government a wonder, will abide with us. The sections, separately, will not be as formidable to foreign powers as before. That is all. But each section will be strong enough to protect itself, and both together can save this continent for republicanism forever.

Indeed, it is likely that both governments will be purer in consequence of their mutual rivalry, and the diminution of the extent of their patronage. They will both cherish intently the American feeling, both maintain the pride of American character, and both try to make their governments at home what they would desire to have them appear to be abroad. Once take away all pretext for meddling with one another's peculiar interests, and we do not see but that the magnificent visions of glory, which our imaginations have delighted to picture as the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race on this North American continent, may yet be fully realized. They never can be, if we continue together, to bite and devour one another.

But, whether it be for weal or woe, the South has no election. She is driven to the wall, and the only question is, Will she take care of herself in time? The sooner she can organize a general government the better. That will be a centre of unity, and once combined, we are safe.

We cannot close without saying a few words to the people of the North as to the policy which it becomes them to pursue. The whole question of peace or war is in their hands. The South is simply standing on the defensive, and has no notion of abandoning that attitude. Let the Northern people, then, seriously consider, and consider in the fear of God, how, under present circumstances, they can best conserve those great interests of freedom, of religion, and of order, which are equally dear to us both, and which they can fearfully jeopard. If their counsels incline to peace, the most friendly relations can speedily be restored, and the most favorable treaties entered into. We should feel ourselves the joint possessors of the continent, and should be drawn together by ties which unite no other people. We could, indeed, realize all the advantages of the Union, without any of its inconveniences. The cause of human liberty would not even be retarded, if the North can rise to a level with the exigencies of the occasion. If, on the other hand, their thoughts incline to war, we solemnly ask them, what they expect to gain? What interest will be promoted? What end, worthy of a great people, will they be able to secure? They may gratify their bad passions, they may try to wreak their resentment upon the seceding States, and they may inflict a large amount of injury, disaster, and suffering. But what have

they gained? Shall a free people be governed by their passions? Suppose they should conquer us, what will they do with us? How will they hold us in subjection? How many garrisons, and how many men, and how much treasure will it take to keep the South in order as a conquered province? and where are these resources to come from? After they have subdued us, the hardest part of their task will remain. They will have the wolf by the ears.

But, upon what grounds do they hope to conquer us? They know us well—they know our numbers—they know our spirit, and they know the value which we set upon our homes and firesides. We have fought for the glory of the Union, and the world admired us, but it was not such fighting as we shall do for our wives, our children, and our sacred honor. The very women of the South, like the Spartan matrons, will take hold of shield and buckler, and our boys at school will go to the field in all the determination of disciplined valor. Conquered we can never be. It would be madness to attempt it; and after years of blood and slaughter, the parties would be just where they began, except that they would have learned to hate one another with an intensity of hatred equalled only in hell. Freedom would suffer, religion would suffer, learning would suffer, every human interest would suffer, from such a war. But upon whose head would fall the responsibility? There can be but one answer. We solemnly believe that the South will be guiltless before the eyes of the Judge of all the earth. She has stood in her lot, and resisted aggression.

If the North could rise to the dignity of their present calling, this country would present to the world a spectacle of unparalleled grandeur. It would show how deeply the love of liberty and the influence of religion are rooted in our people, when a great empire can be divided without confusion, war, or disorder. Two great people united under one government differ upon a question of vital importance to one. Neither can conscientiously give way. In the magnanimity of their souls, they say, let there be no strife between us, for we are brethren. The land is broad enough for us both. Let us part in peace, let us divide our common inheritance, adjust our common obligations, and preserving, as a sacred treasure, our common principles, let each set up for himself, and let the Lord bless us both. A course like this, heroic, sublime, glorious, would be something altogether unexampled in the history of the world. It would be the wonder and astonishment of the nations. It would do more to command for American institutions the homage and respect of mankind, than all the armies and fleets of the Republic. It would be a victory more august and imposing than any which can be achieved by the thunder of cannon and the shock of battle.

Peace is the policy of both North and South. Let peace prevail, and nothing really valuable is lost. To save the Union is impossible. The thing for Christian men and patriots to aim at now, is to save the country from war. That will be a scourge and a curse. But the South will emerge from it as free as she was before. She is the invaded



party, and her institutions are likely to gain strength from the conflict. Can the North, as the invading party, be assured that she will not fall into the hands of a military despot? The whole question is with her, and we calmly await her decision. We prefer peace—but if war must come, we are prepared to meet it with unshaken confidence in the God of battles. We lament the wide-spread mischief it will do, the arrest it will put upon every holy enterprise of the Church, and upon all the interests of life; but the South can boldly say to the bleeding, distracted country,

“Shake not thy gory locks at me;  
Thou can’st not say, I did it.”/

#### ART. V.—DISRUPTION OF THE FEDERAL UNION.

THREE years ago the editor of this review was invited to deliver an address before the Alumni of the College of Charleston. He chose for his subject the “Relations of the South to the Federal Government,” and endeavored to show that her only salvation consisted in an *immediate dissolution of the Union*. Though his remarks were considered very ultra, and gave decided offence in certain quarters, he was requested, unanimously, by the Alumni, to furnish a copy of the address for publication. This he declined to do, alleging that it was not the proper time, inasmuch as the recent settlement of the Kansas question (a new compromise) had quieted the public mind everywhere at the South. He preferred to keep the paper until its publication would be more likely to effect good. That time has now come; and although some portions of the manuscript are lost, enough remains for all practical purposes.

\* \* \* \* \* I could have wandered anew through the groves of the academy, which our footsteps have trodden together in the halcyon days that are gone by, and gathered anew the inspiration of the poets, the orators, and scholars of every age and country, who have developed all that was god-like in man, and demonstrated how little, in fact, in the Divine attributes of thought, is he below the angels themselves. But this inviting field is denied me, under the impulses and constraints of a duty which I owe to the community of which I am an humble member, and to you especially, associates and friends, who have drunk from the same fountains, been guided by the same lights, and led by the same standards of right and honor—whose paths of life and destinies are in nearly all respects identical with my own—who have still the purpose, the resolution and the energies of youth, and upon whom it will in part devolve to frame and fashion, or rather, perhaps, maintain the elements of that society and government which are to be transmitted to another generation. It is the young who mould institutions and create or repress revolutions. Whilst age deliberates, youth acts. Without,

perhaps, any nicer sense of honor or greater courage, its capacity for quick determination and vigorous power of execution, renders it the greater and more reliable bulwark of the State. Patrick Henry thundering in the Virginia burgesses, Thomas Jefferson inditing the Declaration of Independence, Hamilton contributing sage counsels to those of the father of his country, and Lafayette at the head of his forces in the field, are all evidences of how much the impetus and force of a great revolution was derived from the inspiration of the energies of youth.

I have spoken of periods of great public peril; and that I may come at once to the point to which my remarks, upon this occasion, shall be wholly directed, I will state, that I refer to the disturbed and threatening condition of our relations with the non-slaveholding section of the confederacy, and to the necessities which are incumbent upon the South to elect, and that very speedily, in regard to her future course of policy.

Let us be cautious, my friends, that in the indulgence of a natural and amiable affection for the institutions of our country, we do not forget that mere institutions are of no value, irrespective of their administration; that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and that that people are easiest enslaved who, clinging to the traditions, the memories, and the fame of their country, are mindless of its present practical workings. Thus Cæsar appealed to Roman pride when he crushed its liberties; and France, bleeding at every pore, and hopelessly wrecked, clung to the glory of the empire of the great Napoleon. Thus the Vandals of the North, in their assaults upon the citadel of our liberties, and in their efforts to destroy all that made the Union sacred, shout peans to the *glorious Union*—its might, and its fame, and its traditions!—political Judas', keepers of the treasury, and jealous of any invasions upon it other than their own. Long live Diana of the Ephesians! To us of the South, the attachment to the federal Union is of a different kind. We believe it to be great, we know it to be powerful, and we are proud of what it has done upon the boards of history. Its traditions, too, are sacred. Here Washington lived—there Jefferson caught inspiration—there Jackson fought and our fathers with him—Southern hearts upon Southern soil. We have seen fame and glory won under its flag, and perhaps honor and liberty, but I regret to say, will see them no more. The stars of that flag are multiplying, but in the Northern constellation. The telescope heralds no new ones in the Southern cross. Perhaps there is liberty, and honor, and security yet for us. Perhaps, but I see no evidence of it, the reaction has commenced what some of our great and good men have proclaimed. Perhaps the reign of fanaticism and madness is to cease, and the Union, as our fathers made it, is to be preserved. Let us, if we must, "watch and wait," shouting no peans, and joining in no hosannas until that conviction comes. God grant that it may come, and that speedily. I, a Southern man, with all the instincts of the South, an extremist, perhaps—a fire-eater, in the language of our

enemies—a disunionist, when the question is between the surrender of the *substance* of rights and liberties and the maintenance of this *sentiment* of Union, even I, and I know that all who act and think with me can say, with hands on our hearts, God grant it may come, and that speedily. But I expect it not. I counsel not delay on such a flimsy anticipation.

In the great change of political power which has taken place, it is maintained very often among us, that there is nothing to disturb very seriously the composure of the South, since an amount of safety and security amply sufficient will be still retained. Had this been the view of the able revolutionary men who framed the federal compact, it is inconceivable that they would have exercised such sleepless vigilance and watchful care in adjusting all the nice balances of that instrument, and exhibited such a degree of jealousy in granting and reserving power. It would be difficult to show what has occurred to impart a confidence which they did not feel, and which would have influenced those who moved so cautiously and guardedly in consenting to terms of union, to consent to union now with avidity upon any and all terms, or rather, without terms at all. In what have the peculiarities, idiosyncracies, and prejudices of section been removed; their individualities and incompatibilities of interests, feelings, thoughts, and sentiments, which exhibited themselves in so lively a manner at the very birth of this republic, and became the subject of constitutional argument and provision? Whence, then, the security and the repose that are countenanced? What is there in the character of the men of the North that has not been intensified rather than mollified by the action of time, and in what has the demarcation of the two great sections become less strongly indicated? But the other day we heard in the Senate declared, without attempt at contradiction, that there was more real affection and kindred feeling exhibited between any two hostile nations of Europe, than between the slaveholding and the non-slaveholding States; and who can doubt, that if after a general war, in which the intensest passions of the human heart were excited, there should be used, at the conclave of plenipotentiaries to settle the terms of peace, language such as is now hourly heard, and has been heard for twenty years in our national forum, not twenty-four hours would elapse before all of the terrible engines of war would be brought into requisition—and yet, this is peace with us, and profound peace and security.

With the sole power in their hands, what regard to interests not their own would be had by the North—what respect to remonstrances? The old case of Dr. Franklin at the court of George III. would be revived, with the single exception that those who treated the humble petition which he presented with contempt, had, at least under the laws regulating the affairs of nations, some pretext for doing so, while ours would be carried up only to the footstool of heartless usurpers. Better, far better, as all history has shown, the worse reign of legitimacy, than the tyrannies and excesses of usurpa-

tion. Better George III., who was at least indifferent to our interests and our rights, than the Seward dynasty, who proclaim to these hatred and hostility. If these are the liberties of Yorktown and Camden, let me cherish rather the associations of Blenheim or of Waterloo. More glorious this slavery to our ancient races of England, than to that incongruous and heterogeneous combination of all climes and countries which make up, and are making up, more and more every day, that Northern system which, from the rigidity of Puritanism to the licentiousness of Mormonism, is to become the sovereign arbiter and guardian of our rights and liberties.

Though the right to extend our institutions, and to occupy any of the territories now or hereafter to be acquired with them, be without question interdicted, it has been still held by way of palliative, and is furnishing a scintilla of hope, there is yet exhibited no clear intention to disturb us where we already are; and within these limits it is asked, is there not in reason a sufficient area for the enjoyment of our mode of society, and to make very great developments in every kind of wealth and consideration?

In this point of view, all that has been acquired in the past by the common blood and treasure, is to be abandoned for the sake of peace and free institutions, to those who contributed much the smaller part, as it may easily be shown, of the blood and treasure; and all that is to be acquired in future times is to follow the same mode of distribution, exemplifying the Scriptural illustration of the muzzled ox treading out the corn, so that the influence and the power that is to come from them may be concentrated in the hands of opposite and hostile sovereignties. Had our fathers admitted the equal of this principle which their sons are now practically and submissively working under, the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, would have remained in their primitive desolation, or served still further to complete that cordon of free States by which we are to be encompassed.

Dishonorable, however, as these terms of union undoubtedly are, do they promise that security and repose for which craven men sometimes barter personal honor and political rights? Are they such as may be proposed to the sons of those who would not even admit the right of taxation in the Parliament of England, though the condition of representation were conceded, who resisted the doctrines of restriction on the Mississippi which the colonists of France and Spain were applying, and were so jealous of the power of development, as to concede and proclaim as a rule for future continental policy, what is known as the Monroe doctrine? Apply this doctrine of *restriction* to the Russian, without any of our principles of liberty, and he will pour out the best blood of the empire, and yielding at last to the pressure of necessity, will await only a better occasion to strike. Apply it to the little island of Britain, and for a quarter of a century she will exhibit miracles of valor and of resources in struggles which were worthy of the

heroic days of old. Has republicanism in seventy years fitted us for concessions and degradations to which not a thousand years of monarchy or despotism have fitted the Cossack or the Briton? Tell the Russian that he may enjoy unmolested the navigation of the Neva, and hold his control over Poland, but in no combination of events must he cast his eyes beyond the Ural mountains or the Danube, though his civilization, at ever so high a point, shall impinge upon the barbaric domain of the Mogul or the Turk. Say to the spinners of Manchester and the merchants of Thames dock that their ships and their cottons shall be undisturbed, so that the cannon of Versailles shall be allowed to threaten every other court in Europe, will they be ready to accept such terms of protection and existence, and are we?

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Having thus calmly, and without exaggeration, endeavored to present the state of things as it now exists, it might be considered that our duty was performed, and that the suggestion of the proper remedy should be left to the sage counsels and deliberations of the South. I will not, however, shrink from the responsibility of going further. I will not tell you, because I do not believe it, that there is a hope or a refuge left, to be enjoyed under the practical workings of the existing Constitution and government—under some hoped for exigency of things—some returning sense of justice—some new lights of administration or of policy! After the great mind of the ablest of the statesmen of the South, so intensely occupied upon this subject, could not even in his day recognise the possibility of such a relief, I will not now insult your understanding by referring to it.

I say, then, that the only alternative left is *submission*, now and forever, without the degradation of protests, and unmeaning and contemptuously received threats, or *an immediate dissolution of the Union with a view to the formation of an independent government, or to the re-construction of a federal system, if that be desired, which shall place forever our rights and liberties beyond the reach of contingency.*

If the slaveholding States, in convention assembled, shall elect delegates to a general congress, and instruct them to devise and proceed to execute such remedies as the common danger might suggest, and we have already heard the voice of Alabama, Texas, and Mississippi in favor of such a course, supported by the resolutions of Georgia, the unanimous opinion of the Committee on Federal Relations of the State of Louisiana, together with the hearty committal of South Carolina, the first great step would be secured. The convention would proceed at once to organize a Southern government, adopt a constitution, provide for the election of officers under it, and for ministers to foreign courts, and commissioners to meet with those which should be appointed by a similar convention of the non-slaveholding States. These commissioners would arrange the terms of such future union as would be compatible with our rights and honor; but if no such conference be granted, or union prove to be practicable, then the elections will proceed, and the form of government will be inaugurated,



and such measures of defence be put into operation as will secure the country *ad interim*.

This would be but to imitate the course of our ancestors when menaced and surrounded by similar dangers, and the course which has been pursued by all brave and free people under like circumstances. It would be above board and manly. It would be to carry out the views and intentions proclaimed by us for a third of a century, and to which, if language has any meaning, we are committed by every regard to manliness and honor.

When I say that the South is committed to such a course by every consideration of manliness and honor, have I not said enough to render it unnecessary to refer to the arguments, showing her moral and physical capacity to defend herself amid the new and trying scenes which must thenceforth be enacted. The argument upon the resources and wealth of the South has been exhausted, and we, as well as our enemies, know that there is material among us for a nation, which in every element of power and wealth would very soon have no counterpart anywhere.

The bare possibility is at the same time not rejected, that such a show of earnestness and firmness would render this resort unnecessary, and tend to cement a more certain and desirable union.

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In the freedom which has been given to my thoughts, I, of course, hold in contempt, and trample under foot, that painted devil, which, under the name of DISUNION, has been found hideous enough in the past to fright the boldest of us from our propriety. There was a day when that cry was as the flaming sword, waving between Eden and the steep and rugged depths which encompassed the world beyond. It was night and chaos substituting security and prosperity. It was finally Scylla exchanged for Charybdis; but now, in the full blaze of light and knowledge, with the benefit of years of argument and discussion, and of unmistakable developments, it has become and must prove for us the haven, rock-bound, difficult of approach, if you please, but still the only haven from storm, and shipwreck, and ruin. Time was when the South trampled down and swept into obscurity the true and devoted spirits who heralded these truths, and pointed to this deliverance, and raised to her confidence and trust, and high places, those who preached to her smoother and softer ways. They were men who endured the peril of advancing beyond the age in which they were cast. But when the South shall again, after the warning she has had, pursue a similar course, her sons will well deserve to exchange places with their slaves, and obscurity of place will come truly to be coveted. The leader of the galley-slaves will only more conspicuously exhibit his fetters. When inferiority and submission are recognised and established, he will be the true man who shall emigrate with his family and effects to the *master section*, where, at least, that freedom can be enjoyed which is extended to the outcasts of every European soil.

Which of the State legislatures of the South has not, at one period

or another, pointed to DISUNION as a refuge from evils to be apprehended, and now realized? What political party at the South has not been equally clear and explicit? What public man, high or low, in our councils, has not openly proclaimed the same sentiment, from John Randolph, who first saw, as he expressed it, the poison under the wings of the federal Constitution, down to our own day? Is not the same language in the mouth of every speaker from among us who has recently discussed the Kansas question in Congress, and was it not used with controlling efficacy by the same men, and others, in the late Presidential campaign? A digest could readily be made in which scarce a prominent name would be found omitted, though I confess, judging from their course in other particulars, the kind of *disunion* to which some of them had reference, is to be understood in a very *Pickwickian* sense. The true, manly sentiment of the South rejects, however, with scorn, the language of duplicity. Action alone is now incumbent upon us. The occasion has come. We demoralize our people by delay, and strengthen the hands of their opponents. It is due to our Northern allies—men who have vindicated the Constitution and rights of the South, until they have been swept away in the popular currents and are lost, unless redeemed again, when their people shall discover how truly they prophesied of the future, and warned of the dangers which are fully realized.

I have not argued the South's capacity to maintain a separate and distinct political organization, since that has been so fully and effectually done in the last few years by abler hands. The border States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, controlled by their necessities, must form a part of our system, for they could not be other than border States, if they elected, which is impossible, to go with the North. Maryland would find her choice in Baltimore as a ruling Southern mart, or an unimportant dependency of New-York. This Southern unity would then embrace about fourteen millions of people, white and black. The latter would be under better control, because there would be less necessity for restrictions, and it would no longer be necessary to argue in their presence the question of our relations with the North. In this regard we should enjoy the freedom which is now enjoyed by the people of Brazil, who have about an equal slave population. Our slaves would be beyond the reach of an enemy to be tampered with, for what American enemy could cross the frontiers of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, or penetrate beyond our sea-ports, and what possible motive could actuate such an enemy. Could conquest bring anything to the North which would not be secured by treaties of amity and commerce, and would it not be the same with European powers? Have the interests and passions of mankind so changed, that *sentiments*, and not *interests*, are to be the controlling springs of action? If European monarchies, having colonies, could support the revolt of our fathers, it may readily be seen how policy rules and regulates the affairs of courts. If not single-handed however, and strong enough to cope with her enemies, what alliance more natural than that of the South,

which is in no rivalry, and presents such an unlimited field for commerce with European nations who are in open rivalry with the North.

\* \* \* \* \* What our duties may be in all respects under the existing state of things, unless we determine upon a separation, is a matter of some embarrassment. Every appropriation which is voted, and every disbursement made from the national coffers, strengthens by so much those who did not raise the money, but who derive the exclusive benefit—extending their industry, increasing their growth, and cementing their power. Is an increase of the army demanded—in what hands is its control to be vested? Are the public lands to be given away—who will demand them for homesteads or to gratify the rapacity of swindling corporations? Are the protective and navigation systems to be altered—who is it that will dictate the character of the changes? Are rivers and harbors to be opened—where does not construction indefinitely multiply them? Is a Pacific railroad to be constructed—through what unnatural channels will it not be deflected? Are there to be accretions of territory on the Northern or Southern frontiers—what shall be the practical result, so far as our wishes are concerned? At this point I would have the attention of Southern statesmen arrested, when, under the existing state of things, they are found casting wistful eyes upon Cuba, Mexico, or any portion of Central America. The most that can be gained, as in the case of Kansas, will be a barren sceptre in their grasp—the word of promise kept to the ear, and broken to the hope! Of past accretions there remain at this moment 1,472,000 square miles in the hands of our rulers, an extent greater by 200,000 miles than the whole extent of Mexico, the whole of Central America, and all of the West India Islands combined!

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#### ART. VI.—THE IRON SHROUD.

THE castle of the Prince of Tolfi was built on the summit of the towering and precipitous rock of Scylla, and commanded a magnificent view of Sicily in all its grandeur. Here, during the wars of the middle ages, when the fertile plains of Italy were devastated by hostile factions, the prisoners were confined, for whose ransom a costly price was demanded. Here, too, in a dungeon, excavated deep in the solid rock, the miserable victim was immured, whom revenge pursued—the dark, fierce, and un pitying revenge of an Italian heart.

VIVENZIO—the noble and the generous, the fearless in battle, and the pride of Naples in the sunny hours of her peace—the young, the brave, the proud Vivenzio, fell beneath this subtle and remorseless spirit. He was the prisoner of Tolfi, and he languished in that rock-encircled dungeon, which stood alone, and whose portals never opened twice upon a living captive.

It had the semblance of a vast cage, for the roof, and floor, and sides were of iron, solidly wrought, and spaciouly constructed. High

above there ran a range of seven grated windows, guarded with massive bars of the same metal, which admitted light and air. Save these, and the tall folding doors beneath them, which occupied the centre, no chink, or chasm, or projection, broke the smooth black surface of the walls. An iron-bedstead, littered with straw, stood in one corner; and beside it a vessel with water, and a coarse dish filled with coarser food.

Even the intrepid soul of Vivenzio shrunk with dismay as he entered this abode, and heard the ponderous doors triple-locked by the silent ruffians who conducted him to it. Their silence seemed prophetic of his fate, and the living grave that had been prepared for him. His menaces and his entreaties, his indignant appeals for justice, and his impatient questioning of their intentions, were alike vain. They listened, but spoke not. Fit ministers of a crime that should have no tongue!

How dismal was the sound of their retiring steps! And, as their faint echoes died along the winding passages, a fearful presage grew within him, that never more the face, or voice, or tread of man would greet his senses. He had seen human beings for the last time! And he had looked his last upon the bright sky and upon the smiling earth, and upon a beautiful world he loved, and whose minion he had been! Here he was to end his life—a life he had just begun to revel in! And by what means? By secret poison? or by murderous assault? No—for then it had been needless to bring him thither. Famine, perhaps—a thousand deaths in one! It was terrible to think of it; but yet it was more terrible to picture long, long years of captivity, in a solitude so appalling, a loneliness so dreary, that thought, for want of fellowship, would lose itself in madness, or stagnate into idiocy.

He could not hope to escape, unless he had the power, with his bare hands, of rending asunder the solid iron walls of his prison. He could not hope for liberty from the relenting mercies of his enemy. His instant death, under any form of refined cruelty, was not the object of Tolfi, for he might have inflicted it, and he had not. It was too evident, therefore, he was reserved for some premeditated vengeance; and what vengeance could transcend in fiendish malice, either the slow death of famine, or the still slower one of solitary incarceration, till the last lingering sparks of life expired, or till reason fled, and nothing should remain to perish but the brute functions of the body?

It was evening when Vivenzio entered his dungeon, and the approaching shades of night wrapped it in total darkness, as he paced up and down revolving in his mind these horrible forebodings. No tolling bell from the castle, or from any neighboring church or convent, struck upon his ear to tell how the hours passed. Frequently he would stop to listen for some sound that might betoken the vicinity of man; but the solitude of the desert, the silence of the tomb, are not so still and deep as the oppressive desolation by which he was encompassed. His heart sank within him, and he threw himself dejectedly

down upon his couch of straw. Here sleep gradually obliterated the consciousness of misery, and bland dreams wafted his delighted spirit to which were once glowing realities for him, in whose ravishing illusions he soon lost the remembrance that he was Tolfi's prisoner.

When he awoke, it was daylight ; but how long he had slept he knew not. It might be early morning, or it might be sultry noon, for he could measure time by no other note of its progress than light and darkness. He had been so happy in his sleep, amid friends who loved him, and the sweeter endearments of those who loved him as friends could not, that in the first moments of waking, his startled mind seemed to admit the knowledge of his situation, as if it had burst upon it for the first time, fresh in all its appalling horrors. He gazed round with an air of doubt and amazement, and took up a handful of the straw upon which he lay, as though he would ask himself what it meant. But memory, too faithful to her office, soon unveiled the melancholy past, while reason, shuddering at the task, flashed before his eyes the tremendous future. The contrast overpowered him. He remained for some time lamenting, like a truth, the bright visions that vanished ; and recoiling from the present, which clung to him as a poisoned garment.

When he grew more calm, he surveyed his gloomy dungeon. Alas ! the stronger light of day only served to confirm what the gloomy indistinctness of the preceding evening had partially disclosed, the utter impossibility of escape. As, however, his eyes wandered round and round, and from place to place, he noticed two circumstances which excited his surprise and curiosity. The one, he thought, might be fancy ; but the other was positive. His pitcher of water, and the dish which contained his food, had been removed from his side while he slept, and now stood near the door. Were he even inclined to doubt this, by supposing he had mistaken the spot where he saw them over-night, he could not, for the pitcher now in his dungeon was neither of the same form nor color as the other, while the food was changed for some other of better quality. He had been visited, therefore, during the night. But how had the person obtained entrance ? Could he have slept so soundly, that the unlocking and opening of those ponderous portals were effected without waking him ? He would have said this was not possible, but that in doing so, he must admit a greater difficulty, an entrance by other means, of which he was convinced there existed none. It was not intended, then, that he should be left to perish from hunger. But the secret and mysterious mode of supplying food, seemed to indicate he was to have no opportunity of communicating with a human being.

The other circumstance which had attracted his notice, was the disappearance, as he believed, of one of the seven grated windows that ran along the top of his prison. He felt confident that he had beserved and counted them ; for he was rather surprized at their number, and there was something peculiar in their form, as well as in the manner of their arrangement, at unequal distances. It was so much



easier, however, to suppose he was mistaken, than that a portion of the solid iron, which formed the walls, could have escaped from its position, that he soon dismissed the thought from his mind.

Vivenzio partook of the food that was before him, without apprehension. It might be poisoned; but if it were he knew he could not escape death, should such be the design of Tolfi, and the quickest death would be the speediest release.

The day passed wearily and gloomily; though not without a faint hope that, by keeping watch at night, he might observe when the person came again to bring him food, which he supposed he would do in the same way as before. The mere thought of being approached by a living creature, and the opportunity it might present of learning the doom prepared, or preparing, for him, imparted some comfort. Besides, if he came alone, might he not in a furious onset overpower him? Or he might be accessible to pity, or the influence of such munificent rewards as he could bestow, if once more at liberty and master of himself. Say he was unarmed. The worst that could befall, if not bribes, nor prayers, nor force prevailed, was a friendly blow, which, though dealt in a damned cause, might work a desired end. There was no chance so desperate, but it looked lovely in Vivenzio's eyes, compared with the idea of being totally abandoned.

The night came and Vivenzio watched. Morning came, and Vivenzio was confounded! He must have slumbered without knowing it. Sleep must have stolen over him when exhausted by fatigue, and in that interval of feverish repose, he had been baffled; for there stood his replenished pitcher of water, and there his day's meal. Nor was this all. Casting his looks toward the windows in his dungeon, he counted but FIVE! *Here* was no deception; and he was now convinced there had been none the day before. But what did all this portend? Into what strange and mysterious den had he been cast? He gazed until his eyes ached; he could discover nothing to explain the mystery. That it was so, he knew. Why it was so, he racked his imagination in vain to conjecture. He examined the doors. A simple circumstance convinced him they had not been opened.

A wisp of straw, which he had carelessly thrown against them the preceding day, as he paced to and fro, remained where he had cast it, though it must have been displaced by the slightest motion of either of the doors. This was evidence that could not be disputed; and it followed there must be some secret machinery in the walls by which a person could enter. He inspected them closely. They appeared to him one solid and compact mass of iron; or joined, if joined they were, with such nice art, that no mark of division was preceptible. Again and again he surveyed them—and the floor—and the roof—and that range of visionary windows, as he was now almost tempted to consider them: he could discover nothing, absolutely nothing, to relieve his doubts or satisfy his curiosity. Sometimes he fancied that altogether the dungeon had a more contracted appearance—that it looked smaller; but this he ascribed to fancy, and the impression

naturally produced upon his mind by the undeniable disappearance of two of the windows.

With intense anxiety, Vivenzio looked forward to the return of night; and as it approached, he resolved that no treacherous sleep should again betray him. Instead of seeking his bed of straw, he continued to walk up and down his dungeon till daylight, straining his eyes in every direction through the darkness, to watch for any appearances that might explain these mysteries. While thus engaged, and as nearly as he could judge (by the time that afterward elapsed before the morning came in), about two o'clock, there was a slight tremulous motion of the floors. He stopped. The motion lasted nearly a minute; but it was so extremely gentle, that he almost doubted whether it was real, or only imaginary. He listened. Not a sound could be heard. Presently, however, he felt a rush of cold air blow upon him; and dashing toward the quarter whence it seemed to proceed, he stumbled over something which he judged to be the water ewer. The rush of cold air was no longer perceptible; and as Vivenzio stretched out his hands, he found himself close to the walls. He remained motionless for a considerable time; but nothing occurred during the remainder of the night to excite his attention, though he continued to watch with unabated vigilance.

The first approaches of the morning were visible through the grated windows, breaking, with faint divisions of light, the darkness that still pervaded every other part, long before Vivenzio was enabled to distinguish any object in his dungeon. Instinctively and fearfully he turned his eyes hot and inflamed with watching, toward them. There were FOUR! He could see only four; but it might be that some intervening object prevented the fifth from becoming perceptible; and he waited impatiently to ascertain if it were so. As the light strengthened, however, and penetrated every corner of the cell, other objects of amazement struck his sight. On the ground lay the broken fragments of the pitcher he had used the day before, and at a small distance from them, nearer to the wall, stood the one he had noticed the first night. It was filled with water, and beside it was his food. He was now certain that, by some mechanical contrivance, an opening was obtained through the iron wall, and that through this opening the current of air had found entrance. But how noiseless! For had a feather almost waved at the time, he must have heard it. Again he examined that part of the wall; but both to sight and touch it appeared one even and uniform surface, while to repeated and violent blows there was no reverberating sound indicative of hollowness.

This perplexing mystery had for a time withdrawn his thoughts from the windows; but now, directing his eyes again toward them, he saw that the fifth had disappeared in the same manner as the preceding two, without the least distinguishable alteration of external appearances. The remaining four looked as the seven had originally looked; that is, occupying, at irregular distances, the top of the wall on that side of the dungeon. The tall folding-door, too, still seemed

to stand beneath, in the centre of these four, as it had at first stood in the centre of the seven. But he could no longer doubt, what, on the preceding day, he fancied might be the effect of visual deception. The dungeon *was* smaller. The roof had lowered—and the opposite ends had contracted the intermediate distance by a space equal, he thought, to that over which the three windows had extended. He was bewildered in vain imaginings to account for these things. Some frightful purpose—some devilish torture of mind or body—some unheard-of device for producing exquisite misery, lurked, he was sure, in what had taken place.

Oppressed with this belief, and distracted more by the dreadful uncertainty of whatever fate impended, than he could be dismayed, he thought, by the knowledge of the worse, he sat ruminating, hour after hour, yielding his fears in succession to every haggard fancy. At last a horrible suspicion flashed suddenly across his mind, and he started up with a frantic air. “Yes!” he exclaimed, looking wildly around his dungeon, and shuddering as he spoke—“Yes! it must be so! I see it—I feel the maddening truth like scorching flames upon my brain! Eternal God!—support me! it must be so!—Yes, yes, *that* is to be my fate! Yon roof will descend!—these walls will hem me round—and slowly, slowly, crush me in their iron arms! Look God! look down upon me, and in mercy strike me with instant death! Oh, fiend—oh, devil—is this your revenge?”

He dashed himself upon the ground in agony;—tears burst from him, and the sweat stood in large drops upon his face; he sobbed aloud—he tore his hair—he rolled about like one suffering intolerable anguish of body, and would have bitten the iron floor beneath him; he breathed fearful curses upon Telfi, and the next moment passionate prayers to heaven for immediate death. Then the violence of his grief became exhausted, and he lay still, weeping as a child would weep. The twilight of departing day shed its gloom around him ere he arose from that posture of utter and hopeless sorrow. He had taken no food. Not one drop of water had cooled the fever of his parched lips. Sleep had not visited his eyes for six-and-thirty hours. He was faint with hunger; weary with watching, and with the excess of his emotions. He tasted of his food; he drank with avidity of the water; and reeling like a drunken man to his straw, cast himself upon it to brood again over the appalling image that had fastened itself upon his almost frenzied thoughts.

He slept. But his slumbers were not tranquil. He resisted, as long as he could, their approach; and when, at last, enfeebled nature yielded to their influence, he found no oblivion from his cares. Terrible dreams haunted him—ghastly visions harrowed up his imagination—he shouted and screamed, as if he already felt the dungeon’s ponderous roof descending on him—he breathed hard and thick, as though writhing between its iron walls. Then would he spring up—stare wildly about him—stretch forth his hands, to be sure he yet had space enough to live—and, muttering some incoherent words, sink

down again, to pass through the same fierce vicissitudes of delirious sleep.

The morning of the fourth day dawned upon Vivenzio. But it was high noon before his mind shook off its stupor, or he awoke to a full consciousness of his situation. And what a fixed energy of despair sat upon his pale features, as he cast his eyes upward, and gazed upon the THREE windows that now alone remained! The three!—there were no more!—and they seemed to number his own allotted days. Slowly and calmly he next surveyed the top and sides, and comprehended all the meaning of the diminished height of the former, as well as of the gradual approximation of the latter. The contracted dimensions of his mysterious prison were now too gross and palpable to be the juggle of his heated imagination. Still lost in wonder at the means, Vivenzio could put no cheat upon his reason, as to the end. By what horrible ingenuity it was contrived, that walls, and roof, and windows, should thus silently and imperceptibly, without noise, and without motion almost, fold, as it were, within each other, he knew not. He only knew they did so; and he vainly strove to persuade himself it was the intention of the contriver, to rack the miserable wretch who might be immured there with anticipation, merely, of a fate, from which, in the very crisis of his agony, he was to be relieved.

Gladly would he have clung even to this possibility, if his heart would have let him; but he felt a dreadful assurance of its fallacy. And what matchless inhumanity it was to doom the sufferer to such lingering torments—to lead him day by day to so appalling a death, unsupported by the consolations of religion, unvisited by any human being, abandoned to himself, deserted of all, and denied even the sad privilege of knowing that his cruel destiny would awaken pity! Alone he was to perish!—alone he was to wait a slow coming torture, whose most exquisite pangs would be inflicted by that very solitude and that tardy coming!

“It is not death I fear,” he exclaimed, “but the death I must prepare for! Methinks, too, I could meet even that—all horrible and revolting as it is—if it might overtake me now. But where shall I find fortitude to tarry till it come? How can I outlive the three long days and nights I have to live? There is no power within me to bid the hideous spectre hence—none to make it familiar to my thoughts; or myself, patient of its errand. My thoughts, rather, will flee from me, and I grow mad in looking at it. Oh! for a deep sleep to fall upon me! That so, in death’s likeness, I might embrace death itself, and drink no more of the cup that is presented to me, than my fainting spirit has already tasted!”

In the midst of these lamentations, Vivenzio noticed that his accustomed meal, with the pitcher of water, had been conveyed, as before, into his dungeon. But this circumstance no longer excited his surprise. His mind was overwhelmed with others of a far greater magnitude. It suggested, however, a feeble hope of deliverance; and

there is no hope so feeble as not to yield some support to a heart bending under despair. He resolved to watch, during the ensuing night, for the signs he had before observed; and should he again feel the gentle, tremulous motion of the floor, or the current of air, to seize that moment for giving audible expression to his misery. Some person must be near him, and within reach of his voice, at the instant when his food was supplied; some one, perhaps, susceptible of pity. Or if not, to be told even that his apprehensions were just, and that his fate *was* to be what he foreboded, would be preferable to a suspense which hung upon the possibility of his worst fears being visionary.

The night came; and as the hour approached when Vivenzio imagined he might expect the signs, he stood fixed and silent as a statue. He feared to breathe, almost, lest he might lose any sound which would warn him of their coming. While thus listening, with every faculty of mind and body strained to an agony of attention, it occurred to him he should be more sensible of the motion, probably, if he stretched himself along the iron floor. He accordingly laid himself softly down, and had not been long in that position when—yes—he was certain of it—the floor moved under him! He sprang up, and in a voice suffocated nearly with emotion, he called aloud. He paused—the motion ceased—he felt no stream of air—all was hushed—no voice answered to his—he burst into tears, and as he sank to the ground, in renewed anguish, exclaimed—“Oh, my God! my God! You alone have power to save me now, or strengthen me for the trial you permit.”

Another morning dawned upon the wretched captive, and the fatal index of his doom met his eyes. Two windows!—and *two* days—and all would be over! Fresh food—fresh water! The mysterious visit had been paid, though he had implored it in vain. But how awfully was his prayer answered in what he now saw! The roof of the dungeon was within a foot of his head. The two ends were so near, that in six paces he trod the space between them. Vivenzio shuddered as he gazed, and as his steps traversed the narrowed area. But his feelings no longer vented themselves in frantic wailings. With folded arms, and clenched teeth, with eyes that were bloodshot from much watching, and fixed with a vacant glare upon the ground, with a hard quick breathing, and a hurried walk, he strode backward and forward in silent musing for several hours. What mind shall conceive, what tongue utter, or what pen describe the dark and terrible character of his thoughts? Like the fate that moulded them, they had no similitude in the wide range of this world's agony for man. Suddenly he stopped, and his eyes were riveted upon that part of the wall which was over his bed of straw. Words are inscribed there! A human language, traced by a human hand! He rushes toward them; but his blood freezes as he reads:—

“I, Ludovico Sforza, tempted by the gold of the Prince of Tolfi, spent three years in contriving and executing this accursed triumph of my art. When it was completed, the perfidious Tolfi, more devil than



man, who conducted me hither one morning, to be witness, as he said, of its perfection, doomed *me* to be the first victim of my own pernicious skill; lest, as he declared, I should divulge the secret, or repeat the effort of my ingenuity. May God pardon him, as I hope he will me, that ministered to his unhallowed purpose! Miserable wretch, whoe'er thou art, that readest these lines, fall on thy knees, and invoke, as I have done, His sustaining mercy, who alone can nerve thee to meet the vengeance of Tolfi, armed with this tremendous engine which, in a few hours, must crush *you*, as it will the needy wretch who made it."

A deep groan burst from Vivenzio. He stood like one transfixed, with dilated eyes, expanded nostrils, and quivering lips, gazing at this fatal inscription. It was as if a voice from the sepulchre had sounded in his ears, "Prepare!" Hope forsook him. There was his sentence, recorded in those dismal words. The future stood unveiled before him, ghastly and appalling. His brain already feels the descending horror—his bones seem to crack and crumble in the mighty grasp of the iron walls! Unknowing what it is he does, he fumbles in his garment for some weapon of self-destruction. He clenches his throat in his convulsive gripe, as though he would strangle himself at once. He stares upon the walls, and his warring spirit demands, "Will they not anticipate their office if I dash my head against them?" An hysterical laugh chokes him as he exclaims, "Why should I? He was but a man who died first in their fierce embrace, and I should be less than man not to do as much!"

The evening sun was descending, and Vivenzio beheld its golden beams streaming through one of the windows. What a thrill of joy shot through his soul at the sight! It was a precious link, that united him for the moment with the world beyond. There was ecstacy in the thought. As he gazed, long and earnestly, it seemed as if the windows had lowered sufficiently for him to reach them. With one bound he was beneath them—with one wild spring he clung to the bars. Whether it was so contrived, purposely to madden with delight the wretch who looked, he knew not; but, at the extremity of a long vista, cut through the solid rocks, the ocean, the sky, the setting sun, olive groves, shady walks, and, in the farthest distance, delicious glimpses of magnificent Sicily, burst upon his sight. How exquisite was the cool breeze as it swept across his cheek, loaded with fragrance! He inhaled it as though it were the breath of continued life. And there was a freshness in the landscape, and in the rippling of the calm green sea, that fell upon his withering heart like dew upon the parched earth. How he gazed, and panted, and still clung to his hold! sometimes hanging by one hand, sometimes by the other, and then grasping the bars with both, as loth to quit the smiling paradise outstretched before him; till exhausted, and his hands swollen and benumbed, he dropped helpless down, and lay stunned for a considerable time by the fall.

When he recovered, the glorious vision had vanished. He was in

darkness. He doubted whether it was not a dream that had passed before his sleeping fancy; but gradually his scattered thoughts returned, and with them came remembrance. Yes! he had looked once again upon the gorgeous splendor of nature! Once again his eyes had trembled beneath their veiled lids, at the sun's radiance, and sought repose in the soft verdure of the olive-tree, or the gentle swell of undulating waves. Oh, that he were a mariner, exposed upon those waves to the worst fury of storm and tempest; or a very wretch, loathsome with disease, plague-stricken, and his body one leprous contagion from crown to sole, hunted forth to gasp out the remnant of infectious life beneath those verdant trees, so he might shun the destiny upon whose edge he tottered!

Vain thoughts like these would steal over his mind from time to time, in spite of himself; but they scarcely moved it from that stupor into which it had sunk, and which kept him, during the whole night, like one who had been drugged with opium. He was equally insensible to the calls of hunger and of thirst, though the third day was now commencing since even a drop of water had passed his lips. He remained on the ground, sometimes sitting, sometimes lying; at intervals sleeping heavily; and when not sleeping, silently brooding over what was to come, or talking aloud, in disordered speech, of his wrongs, of his friends, of his home, and of those he loved, with a confused mingling of all.

In this pitiable condition, the sixth and last morning dawned upon Vivenzio, if dawn it might be called—the dim, obscure light which faintly struggled through the ONE SOLITARY window of his dungeon. He could hardly be said to notice the melancholy token. And yet he did notice it; for as he raised his eyes and saw the portentous sign, there was a slight convulsive distortion of his countenance. But what did attract his notice, and at the sight of which his agitation was excessive, was the change his iron bed had undergone. It was a bed no longer. It stood before him, the visible semblance of a funeral couch or bier! When he beheld this he started from the ground; and, in raising himself suddenly, struck his head against the roof, which was now so low that he could no longer stand upright. "God's will be done!" was all he said, as he crouched his body, and placed his hand upon the bier; for such it was. The iron bedstead had been so contrived, by the mechanical art of Ludovico Sforza, that as the advancing walls came in contact with its head and foot, a pressure was produced upon concealed springs, which, when made to play, set in motion a very simple though ingeniously-contrived machinery, that effected the transformation. The object was, of course, to heighten, in the closing scene of this horrible drama, all the feelings of despair and anguish which the preceding ones had aroused. For the same reason, the last window was so made as to admit only a shadowy kind of gloom rather than light, that the wretched captive might be surrounded, as it were, with every seeming preparation for approaching death.

Vivenzio seated himself on his bier. Then he knelt and prayed

servently; and sometimes tears would gush from him. The air seemed thick, and he breathed with difficulty; or it might be that he fancied it was so, from the hot and narrow limits of his dungeon, which were now so diminished that he could neither stand up nor lie down at his full length. But his wasted spirits and oppressed mind no longer struggled within him. He was past hope, and fear shook him no more. Happy if thus revenge had struck its final blow; for he would have fallen beneath it almost unconscious of a pang. But such a lethargy of the soul, after such an excitement of its fiercest passions, had entered into the diabolical calculations of Tolfi; and the fell artificer of his designs had imagined a counteracting device.

The tolling of an enormous bell struck upon the ears of Vivenzio! He started. It beat but once. The sound was so close and stunning that it seemed to shatter his very brain, while it echoed through the rocky passages like reverberating peals of thunder. This was followed by a sudden crash of the roof and walls, as if they were about to fall upon and close around him at once. Vivenzio screamed, and instinctively spread forth his arms, as though he had a giant's strength to hold them back. They had moved nearer to him, and were now motionless. Vivenzio looked up, and saw the roof almost touching his head, even as he sat cowering beneath it; and he felt that a farther contraction of but a few inches only must commence the frightful operation. Roused as he had been, he now gasped for breath. His body shook violently—he was bent nearly double. His hands rested upon either wall, and his feet were drawn under him to avoid the pressure in front. Thus he remained for more than an hour, when that deafening bell beat again, and again there came the crash of horrid death. But the concussion was now so great that it struck Vivenzio down. As he lay gathered up in lessened bulk, the bell beat loud and frequent—crash succeeded crash—and on, and on, and on came the mysterious engine of death, till Vivenzio's smothered groans were heard no more! He was horribly crushed by the ponderous roof and collapsing sides—and the flattened bier was his *Iron Shroud*!\*

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#### ART. VII.—THE BLACK AND WHITE RACES OF MEN.†

WE have long taken the "New-York Day Book," and have really been disgusted by the frequent repetition of, what seemed to us, the inconsequential truism and vulgar common-place, "The negro is not a black-white-man." Until we read Dr. Van Evrie's book, we had no idea that this assertion carried with it, when proved, expanded, amplified, and applied, a new discovery and a new and important theory in physiological and sociological science. We had no idea that these

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\* Selected.

† "Negroes and Negro Slavery." By J. H. Van Evrie, M. D. New-York: Van Evrie, Horton & Co.

few words were the condensed expression and definition of a new philosophy in morals as well as in physics. Indeed, we had considered them but the *ad captandum* catch-words of a half converted Loco-foco—a mere appeal to the prejudice against caste, color, and race. But we were grossly mistaken. As the phrase "*laissez-faire*" comprehends and defines the whole science of modern political economy, so the assertion, "The negro is not a black-white-man," is but the abbreviated definition of a new and a true philosophy, in morals and in physics. The author has filled a vacuum, supplied a *desideratum*, in science and in literature. He has discovered a great truth, in a field of investigation which only bewildered Lavater, and Gall, and Spurzheim, and enabled them to bewilder their readers. His reasoning is always demonstrative; theirs chiefly speculative. His is incontrovertible and conclusive, because he deals with physics, appeals to the evidences of our senses, and ventures into the moral and intellectual only in so far as they are inseparably, universally, and necessarily connected with the physical. In establishing his theory he employs throughout physical demonstration, from which it is impossible to dissent, for no man can discredit the uniform and unvarying evidence of his senses. To illustrate: "Anatomy displays to the eye the facts, that, not only in color, hair, beard, voice, figure, &c., but in every limb and member of the body, even to the minutest globule of blood, the negro differs from the white man; and there never lived a negro who did not, in every limb, member, and bodily function, differ essentially and specifically from the white man and from every white man who ever lived." This is demonstrative reasoning, demonstrative proof, that the negro is of a different species, physically, from the white man. He then shows that the habitudes, instincts, moral and intellectual qualities and capabilities of all animals are the universal and necessary concomitants (if not consequences) of their physical conformation: "The nature of the dog cannot exist in the body of a hog." We maintain, then, that without descending to moral reasoning or speculation, he has demonstrated that the negro is physically, morally, and intellectually, a different being (from necessity) from the white man, and must ever so remain. Although we have used quotation marks, we have not employed the words of the author, but only feebly attempted to condense his new and important philosophy. We have never read a chain of more luminous, consecutive, vigorous, inexorable, logical demonstration than that contained in the first fifteen chapters of his work; there is not a word too little, or a word too much. To understand and appreciate it properly, one must read it all—read it attentively. We will give an extract from the fifteenth chapter, which may give some inkling of our meaning, and will be sure to excite curiosity in all intelligent readers. We promise every man, be he learned or unlearned, who will buy and read the book, that his stock of knowledge and wisdom will be largely added to.

Dr. Van Evrie has a new idea, a new and truthful idea. When he travels out of it we dissent from him. He is a learned anatomist and

physiologist, a great physical philosopher, but knows little of moral science except in so far as it necessarily and immediately results from physical science. If he would but apply to the whites the philosophy which he applies to the blacks, he would be the wisest man who ever lived. But here we find the "*hiatus valde defendus*." He sees the necessity of governing the blacks, but says the whites are all equals. Among equals there can be no government; because he who governs is a superior. Yet he tells us that besides *genera and species*, there are *varieties* in the human family, and individual differences. He means, we suppose, that all whites are equally different and equally superior to negroes. In this we heartily concur, but contend that among themselves no two whites are exactly equal. Probably he would agree with us, and has only expressed himself too feebly, when he has ventured out of the domain of physiological philosophy into that of pure political, and social, and moral philosophy. A single new thought or theory in moral science, if true, or new discovery in physical science, is enough to establish a high reputation for any man. In moral sciences we know of no discoveries, no new thoughts, no new ideas, no new and true theories. We find among the ancients all the moral wisdom and thought of the moderns, and have every reason to believe, that before the historic period began, the whole field of moral science had been explored and exhausted, and that the most ancient writers but repeat what had been thought and said by thousands before they wrote. Dr. Van Evrie has made an important discovery in physical science.

Thousands before him supposed the negro to be of an inferior race;—nay, thought him to be the link between the man and the brute, but none could prove their assumptions to be true. The Doctor proves that there is no connecting link between the man and the brute; that the negro is altogether a man, as much a man as the Caucasian; but has at the same time demonstrated, that he is a very inferior man, a man differing in all respects; a man constituting a distinct species of the human family. The corollary which he deduces, that he must, therefore, be subordinated and subjected to the white man, had been anticipated by Aristotle. But Aristotle's theory had nothing to operate on, for neither he nor Herodotus, nor any of the early Greek and Roman authors, were acquainted with any inferior race. Their slaves were all Caucasians, and the theory of Aristotle did not justify their enslavement. Aristotle was neither anatomist, physiologist, nor phrenologist; hence, he mistook varieties of the Caucasian race for distinct and inferior races or species of the human family. They were inferior to the Greeks in little but education, and became restive under slavery, perhaps, because in a few generations they felt themselves to be the equals of their masters. The spirit of individual independence, the love of personal liberty, is a universal characteristic of the Caucasian; it is still more strongly developed in the Indian, and but feebly exhibited in the Mongolian and Malay. In the negro it is not seen at all. On the contrary, his



nature is eminently parasitical and imitative. He does not flee into the forest to enjoy liberty and independence, but settles amid the densest white population, in towns and cities. It is as natural to him to lean on the white man for protection, as for the vine to cling to the oak. He is by nature a dependent, and our author very truly contends, that his normal state is that of subordination to the white man, with the resulting right of protection. He says in his 15th chapter :

"The popular mind of the North, so deplorably ignorant of all the facts of Southern society, has a general conception, perhaps, of negro subordination at the South, but none whatever of the *reciprocities* of the social condition. The negro—a different and inferior creature—must be in a social position harmonizing with this great fundamental and unchangeable fact ; but while he owes obedience, natural, organic, and spontaneous, he also has the natural right of protection, or, in other words, obedience to his master ; the latter owes him protection, care, guidance, and provision for all his wants, and he cannot relieve himself of these duties without damaging himself. For example, the master who over-worked his people, or under-fed them, or treated them cruelly in any way, would necessarily compromise his interests to the precise extent that he practised, or sought to practice, these cruelties.

\* \* \* \* Insubordination and protection, the obedience of the inferior and the care of the superior, the subjection of the negro and the guidance of the white man, are therefore inseparable ; and when we out-grow and abandon the mental habits borrowed from Europe, and designate the social position where their elements exist by a proper name or word, it should be a compound word that embodies both these things."

The author's objection to applying the term "Slavery" to the relation of the negro and his master, in the South, is new and original, but well-founded. Paley defines slavery to be, "an obligation for the benefit of the master, without the contract or consent of the servant." If this be slavery, then, certainly we have no slavery in the South, for it is a condition without reciprocity, with no obligation on the part of the master ; it is but half a definition of our slavery.

Paley and Montesquieu, whom we are about to quote, had Roman slavery in view. The latter definition is : "slavery, properly so called, is the establishment of a right which gives to one man such a power over another, as renders him absolute master of his life and fortune." Blackstone also says, "that in absolute slavery, the life of the slave is at the master's disposal."

Stranger still, the condition of Southern slaves comes up to, and exactly and precisely fulfils, Blackstone's definition of liberty. He says : "Political, or civil liberty, which is that of a member of society, is no other than natural liberty, so far restrained by human laws (and no farther) as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public." Well may Dr. Van Evrie say, slavery does not exist.

at the South. He might, following Blackstone's authority, have gone farther, and contended that the condition of our (so-called) slaves was the very *beau idéal* of civil liberty.

Nor are these doctrines and opinions peculiar to the eminent authorities which we have quoted; for everybody considers wives and children free, although subjected to control and subordination.

These are but common instances of the absurdity of attempting to define abstract moral terms. No words are susceptible of precise and comprehensive definition, except the names of material objects, and terms in mathematics.

The doctor's want of a word or term reminds us of a similar want of Aristotle's. He could find no word to express the social subordination of wives and children. This want has been supplied in no language to this day. Sociology has been sadly neglected. We propose to the doctor that he or we shall invent a sociological vocabulary, from Greek and Latin fountains. He should coin the physical and physiological terms, and we the moral terms.

We proceed with quotations: "If one were to propose to give the negro straight hair, or a flowing beard, or transparent color, or to force on him any other feature of the white man, every one would denounce the wrong, as well as the folly, with thus torturing the poor creature with that which nature forbids to be done. It has been shown, that in the mental qualities and instincts of the negro, the differences between him and the white man are easily measured by the difference in the physical qualities, and therefore the efforts of the abolitionists to endow the negro with freedom, involve exactly the same impieties and the same follies as if they sought to change the color of his skin." This short extract is a condensed expression of the theory of the author, which he most learnedly, elaborately, fully, and wonderfully demonstrates.

Many before had looked in the same direction, had attempted to sustain the same physiological and resulting social theories—but he alone has succeeded. Columbus was preceded by many navigators in search of new lands, but this does not detract from his credit in discovering America. Our author is entitled to the undivided credit of his discoveries, and that credit is vastly enhanced by the fact that thousands have attempted that in which he alone has succeeded. His book should be universally read, for all can understand it, and all are deeply interested in the truths which it teaches. No man can read it without adding to both his knowledge and his wisdom.

We cite the following passage with much pleasure: "There is an impassable chasm, wide as it is deep and everlasting, between the human and the animal creation. But while the negro has nothing whatever in common with the animal which we have not, in all those things or qualities in a sense, common to both men and animals, the negro has a vastly larger approximation to the latter."

The doctor is a Christian, with no spice of scepticism. He deems it probable that God, who made man, miraculously changed his na-

ture, and formed thus the different species or races of men. In the regular course of nature, this could not happen. No negro child, no child exactly agreeing in any particular with the negro, was ever, or ever could be (without a miracle), born of white parents, nor white child from negro parents. The Albino is far less like the Caucasian, even in his skin, than the black negro, for he adds deformity and monstrosity to difference of race. We can vouch for the truth of this, for we have been acquainted with several Albinos.

The doctor sees that in free society the conflict of labor and capital is an enormous and growing evil, which threatens to subvert the whole social system of Europe, and sees that no such conflict exists, or can exist, in the South; but strangely, most strangely! thinks there is less of this conflict in our North than in Europe. Fixed, entailed properties, prevent this conflict. 'Tis the struggle to get rich, the struggle to get other people's possessions, that alone occasions this conflict. Capital is the friend and supporter of labor, whenever capital is fixed and entailed; for capital is unproductive, is nothing, without labor. Capital or property is nothing but the ability to command labor. There is no other property but property in human labor, and property in human labor is *property in man*: ergo, there is no other property *except property in man*. We have asserted this thing a hundred times, and no man has been found foolhardy enough to deny it.

The aristocracy of Europe would scorn to enter the field of money-making—of free competition. They are the friends and supporters of the poor, and the poor cluster around them with the certainty that they will never fail, burst, or explode, like an American boss or speculator. The doctor sees around him everything that is mean, low, dishonest, swindling, and exacting, in aristocracy; and nothing that is conservative or honorable.

The world has seen nothing half so contemptible, mean, odious, tyrannical, and powerful, as the *nouveaux riches* of America. They have every one of them acquired their fortunes by defrauding labor, and every cent of their income is a continued fraud upon labor. They are masters, without the feelings or obligations of masters. They force the poor to work or starve, but acknowledge no obligation to take care of the poor. The world has never seen any other form of society, except that of the North, which rested simply on satanic principles. Its whole morale is to encourage crime and punish virtue. Mr. Greeley defines it most accurately, thus: "Briefly, it seems to me if some *malignant spirit* had undertaken to contrive a social framework that should subject the poor, the humble, the ignorant, to the greatest possible amount and variety of temptations—which should virtually constrain many, and irresistibly constrain far more, to the ways of destruction and sin—he could hardly, in the light of Christianity, and such civilization as we have, devise anything more admirably adapted to his purpose than the social system under which we now live." Now, we are ready to endorse every word of this, and demonstrate its truth; ready to assent and prove, not only that the

social system of the North is the worst that ever existed, but ready, like Mr. Greeley, to demonstrate that it is the worst that can possibly exist—and that the devil himself could not construct a more ingenious and perfect system of human torture. We agree with Dr. Van Evrie in his theory about negroes; but white men have rights, and should be protected as well as negroes. Would the doctor, under his doctrine of equality, leave the strong, the wise, the skilful, and the rich, to oppress the weak and the poor. Would he take care of the poor, the weak, the improvident, the unfortunate? If so, he must *subordinate them*. He says, truly, that *protection* must be preceded by *subordination*. His whole theory amounts to this: "The weak must be protected, and, therefore, subordinated (enslaved)"—for all subordination is slavery, until he and we invent our new vocabulary.

The doctor has a terrible idea of kings and noblemen. All depends on race and blood when the negro is in question—but all white men are equals—save royal and noble families. Yet, although kings and noblemen constitute the one thousandth part of mankind, they have monopolised everything that is great and respectable. Rome produced no great plebeian. England has produced no great warriors, or other great men in active life, except her Plantagenet, and Tudor, and Stuart kings (William of Orange was a Stuart), unless Marlborough and Wellington (both of noble blood) be considered great warriors. Neither Frederic the Great, Alexander, nor Julius Cæsar, were plebeians. Even Bonaparte and Cromwell had good blood in their veins. No dunghill cock ever fought—no common horse ever ran. Blood is all in animals, and if Dr. Van Evrie would be consistent—all in men. He says, the moral and intellectual always follow, and always must follow or accompany the physical. 'Tis blood, race, species, genus, and family, that constitute the physical of man. Therefore, a man's descent determines his worth.

The doctor dislikes crossing the white man on the negro. We dislike all crossings of blood. Symmetry of form and character is only produced by breeding in-and-in. Hence, the perfection in color and shape of wild animals, and the deformity in color and shape of domestic animals, whether birds or quadrupeds. The children of first cousins are always superior to their parents. Nature abhors incestuous marriages, but dictates the intermarriage of cousins. So does the Bible.

Bloods have become dreadfully mixed. After a long peace the best blood is generally found in the lowest station—for noble blood is not money-making; and in times of peace wealth alone confers nobility and distinction. Falstaff's "Canker of a bad world, and a long peace," is true. Yet we have no doubt that Andrew Jackson, and Martin Van Buren, and John Adams, and Henry Clay, and Patrick Henry, inherited all their great and noble qualities. If the physique, as our author contends, always determines the metaphysique, the moral, and the intellectual, then all greatness is inherited from ancestry, more or less remote. Such has been the theory and belief of all the peoples of the earth, civilized or savage—and hence the universal veneration for hereditary right. Americans value blood in animals

more than any other people; but the white man is such a cheap commodity, vomited forth by the half million from Europe upon our shores every year, without money and without price—he is the cheapest, and, therefore, considered the vilest of all animals. Nobody cares about the breed of men; they'll all do "to fill a ditch," or plough or sow; but everybody is particular about the breed of bantams, Yorkshire pigs, Durham cattle, Poland ducks, and poodle dogs.

No philosopher ever foresaw the consequences of his theory. Adam Smith and Say did not see that they were teaching agrarianism and anarchy. Nor does our author see that he is the staunchest advocate of hereditary, and divine right; but if the physique of negroes be hereditary, and determines their social status, so must the physique of white men.

The doctor has a chapter on human chattelism. If chattels be what have value, then men, black or white, are the only chattels. A Northern capital, be it in houses, money, or what else, of fifty thousand dollars, is but fifty thousand dollars worth of human labor of human beings. The capital is the creation of human labor, is human labor amassed; and its income or interest is but the command of human labor to that amount. The capitalist who is worth fifty thousand dollars at the North, owns that value in human beings, and not one red cent, one farthing, besides. His income of three thousand dollars is the product of human labor, for human labor alone gives and determines value. *All property is property in man.* There can be none other. None but a fool or madman will deny this proposition. Northern wealth is nothing but the ownership of white men, whom the owners are not bound to support, until they are reduced to the poor-house.

Competition is less restricted at the North than in any other Christian country. The weak have less protection. Crime is encouraged by law; that is, the cunning, avaricious, and astute, are encouraged to get the better of the weak, ignorant, generous, and confiding; hence there is far more of crime and pauperism at the North than in any other portion of Christendom. Mr. Greeley is right. The social system of the North is so bad, that we might well suspect a demon presided at its formation. No ingenuity could, by possibility, form a more perfect system of human torture.

We claim to love our fellow-beings as much as any man living; but to enhance their well-being we would not make life a lottery, in which swindling alone succeeded. We would not have a society of paupers and millionaire parvenues. The property of mankind should not be a stake to gamble for. We would have, as in India, a great number of fixed, hereditary, entailed properties, of small amount, and thus leave less room for competition, speculation, and fraud. We infinitely prefer even the European system of entails, to the Northern system. Noblemen in Europe protect their tenants and dependents, and never burst and blow up, and turn thousands of operatives out to



starve, like Northern bosses, capitalists, and employers. Better to have lions than wolves for masters. The inequalities of social condition are ten times greater in New-York than in Europe, because the European nobleman is ten times less rapacious, ten times as honorable, patronizing, and generous, as the New-York millionaire boss. 'Tis natural and agreeable to look up to and be loyal to an educated, accomplished, hereditary superior; degrading and humiliating in the extreme to be lorded over by a vulgar, ignorant parvenue. The rich at the North have more control of the fortunes and destinies of the poor than the noble in Europe, and they have no delicacy of feeling, no scruples of conscience, to mitigate the severity of their exactions. They became rich by robbing the poor of the results of their labor, and they continue to practise the same acts, in order to maintain their position. Capital and labor are more antagonized there than in Europe.

The "Day-Book," of which our author is an editor, occasionally asserts that the "Charleston Mercury," and "*we*," do not correctly represent Southern opinion at the South. This valuable and excellent paper is grossly mistaken, if it supposes that intelligent and reading men of the South, under sixty years of age, are not almost unanimously of opinion, that "Slave society is the normal state of society, and free society a mere experiment, that has failed in Europe, and shows symptoms of failure at the North"—that "our society is not merely a rightful form of society, but is *the rightful* form of society." No one would reduce white men to the condition of negro slavery, for the fact that such social condition is fitted for negroes, is abundant evidence that it is unfitted for whites. This last view of the subject has been remarkably elucidated and confirmed by our author.

We think that government should be graduated and adapted to the wants and capacities of the governed. In this the doctor agrees with us, for he approves of the subordination of wives and children. We think that the laboring class should be protected against the undue exactions of capital, and supported in times of need and want of employment. But we agree with the doctor, that subordination must ever go hand in hand with protection. Society is bound to provide for all its members. It can only do so by compelling all, rich and poor, to perform their duties, and by keeping the laboring class at work—to provide a fund to support all. The doctor uses the term subordination, in the sense we have employed the term "*slavery*"—that is the only difference between us. We have held that wives, children, apprentices, soldiers, and sailors, were *slaves*. The doctor holds that they are *subordinates*. Well! society, to exist, must be a series of subordinations, and the doctor's is a good general term. 'Tis about the difference between "*helps*" and "*servants*," "*bosses*" and "*masters*." The North prefers the terms "*helps*" and "*bosses*." We do not admire their taste, but will not quarrel about it.

We consider the "Day Book" a most useful paper; and believe it takes the proper view of slavery, and employs the proper arguments

to influence Northern men, whilst it says nothing to offend, and much to enlighten Southern men. It is a potent ally of the South, and will be read with as much interest, and equal advantage and improvement, after secession as before.

At bottom, we suspect, there is only a difference about words between us, and this difference will vanish, so soon as a sociological vocabulary is invented, which shall give separate distinct names to the Doctor's *subordinations*, or (as we term them,) different forms and degrees of *slavery*.

We will now give some passages of the book, which, it seems to us, have an awful squinting toward our doctrine of the failure of free society. "Our cities and towns are filled to overflowing with poverty, ignorance, vice, and misery; though much of this is the direct result of the wrongs and oppressions of the Old World, and all of it the legitimate consequence of the European practice which yet prevails among us, especially in the states most connected by commerce, literature, and opinion with the Old World. Our social progress is small indeed, compared with our political enlightenment; but the masses are, however slow the progress, becoming more and more intelligent, and consequently, more virtuous and happy, for, however frequent the exceptions among individuals, morality among the masses always keeps pace with their intelligence. *And though the social condition at the South is less—infinately less—defective than at the North*, and social progress for the future has a comparatively circumscribed field of action, there are many things, doubtless, which, in the future time, will be widely altered from the present." This is admirable! Southern society will continue to improve and progress, but offers no temptation to revolution or organic reconstruction.

"The conflict of labor and capital—the frightful antagonism between those whose labor produces all wealth, and those who own the wealth produced by past generations of laborers—is at the bottom of all revolutions and civil commotions of modern times, for it involves the whole subject of government, as well as those mighty social evils which disfigure and deform European society. In England, this conflict has, in one respect, reached its utmost limit, while in another respect, it may be said to be less active and less palpable than anywhere else.

"The few who own the wealth produced by past generations are the wealthiest in the world, while the many who produce all the wealth are undoubtedly the poorest! *Those who produce everything enjoy nothing, while those who produce nothing enjoy everything!*" A good picture of New-York. Is it slavery, or subordination?

"There was the same social conflict, in a degree, at the North, as in England. It was the interest of the capitalist or employer to get all the labor possible, with as little expense as might be, while the laborer would naturally seek to get as high wages as possible, and in return give as little labor as possible."

"As has been observed, the conflict of capital and labor is the great question of the day—the question that is at the bottom of all

European revolutions of modern times, and its solution must, of necessity, involve the destruction of every government now in existence, except our own. *Capital* in the Old World has the education and intelligence, as well as the government on its side, against the people; and the simple fact that, in half of the American States, *capital and labor* are *united, inseparable, and indissoluble*, is of transcendent importance to the future liberation of the laboring millions of Europe."

We cite these able and philosophical passages, the truth of which few will dispute, with pleasure and pride. We are gratified to find that the South has so intellectual, active, and efficient a friend at the North; and pleased to discover much of our own theories confirmed by his learned and philosophical pen. In conclusion, we hesitate not to express the opinion, that Dr. Van Evrie's book is the most original, profound, and valuable book that has issued from the press of Europe or America, for many years past. We recommend it to all; for all can understand it; and will read it from beginning to end, with unflagging interest.

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#### ART. VIII.—LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN A. QUITMAN.

AT no more appropriate season could the public have been put in possession of the little volumes which Mr. Claiborne has issued from the press.\* If there was one sentiment dear to the heart of Gen. Quitman, it was that the honor and liberties of the South should be vindicated and established against the insolent and wicked assaults of an abolitionized North, and who can doubt that these results have been already achieved by the bold and patriotic action of her sons. The time has come to write the biographies of a class of men like Gen. Quitman—the time which the gallant Emmet interceded for in his own case—when history had vindicated the wisdom and justice of their opinions and acts.

Mr. Claiborne has collected his materials from every source with the greatest care, and though he admits that he was in opposition to Gen. Quitman when he supported South Carolina nullification, and refused to acquiesce in the compromise measures of 1851, he adds, with great candor, that the course of events since then has satisfied him that Gen. Quitman was right.

The family of Quitman claim, by tradition, an Italian origin. An early member of it assumed the name (signifying freeman) on becoming a Lutheran, and taking refuge in Germany. The grandfather of Gen. Quitman held honorable posts in the Prussian service, and his father, entering the Church, emigrated to Curacao, where he long remained in charge of a congregation. Disgusted with the political convulsions which existed, he emigrated, with his wife—whom he had

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\*"Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman." New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1860.

married upon the island—and repaired to Philadelphia. He waited immediately upon Gen. Washington, whose career he had studied and whose character he had greatly admired. His contemporary memorandum of the interview is worthy of being copied:

“A servant in livery conducted me into the presence of President Washington. He was alone, standing in the centre of the apartment. His demeanor was truly royal. He was clothed in black velvet. His bow was very stately and ceremonious. He invited me to be seated. I waited respectfully until he took his chair. I waited until he should choose to break the silence. He asked some questions about the West Indies, but finding that I was a Prussian subject, he passed immediately to my country, and seemed perfectly informed in regard to our military history. He put some questions to me about the subsistence and compensation of the soldiery, in answering which I fear I betrayed my ignorance. He twice corrected me in the campaigns of the great Frederick. He spoke of Alexander, Cæsar, Epaminondas, Marlborough, Charles XII., Turenne, Condé, Wallenstein, and the great Frederick, but pronounced Hannibal the greatest general of them all. On looking into the authorities, I find his information surprisingly accurate and minute.

“When he became silent, I rose. He bowed low, but said nothing, and I withdrew, bowing myself out. His manner was grave and reserved rather than haughty. The countenance in repose was meditative and sad. His conversation was not fluent or very striking, except for its common sense. There was that about him which I cannot forget. I cannot define it, but I am constantly thinking of him, and seem to be constrained by his presence. There is not so much real grandeur on any throne in Europe.

“The day after I was honored with a note from his secretary, inviting me to tea with the Lady Washington. I found only half a dozen gentlemen and four ladies. The Lady Washington has been handsome. Her manner is stately and dame-like, but cordial. She placed me by her side, and often addressed me. The President said but little, but offered me many civilities at table, and recommended me to visit Virginia. Both of them manifested the utmost respect for my ministry. The refreshment consisted of tea, toast, muffins, salted herring, and Virginia ham, the two last from the President's estate on the Potomac river. At ten o'clock, after a glass of Madeira, the guests withdrew.”

Dr. Quitman settled in New-York, where he resided until the period of his death, in 1832, having attained by his piety, virtue, and learning, the highest character in the church of which he was a pastor.

The subject of our sketch was born September 1, 1798, at the Dutch village of Rhinebeck, in the State of New-York. He was in youth remarkable for studious habits as well as for manly and vigorous exercises. A fondness for military life also showed itself very early; but this, after all, may be said of most American boys. His first predilections were for the Church as a profession, but these were afterward abandoned in favor of the law. For a time he acted as tutor in an academy in New-York, and afterward as assistant professor in Pennsylvania. In 1819 he determined to remove to the great West, and, in a letter to his brother, announces his intention to cross the mountains on foot. “I went to the agent of a transportation wagon company, and got a receipt for the delivery of my trunk at Pittsburg in sixteen days. This will give me time to cross the mountains on foot—a mode of travelling I do not shrink from, and

which squares with the state of my finances." It is folly, he declared in another letter, to remain in Philadelphia, "when there are such wide fields open South and West, where much can be done with little money." He reached Pittsburg on the 2d of November, having enjoyed himself, as he says, with pleasant flirtations with the girls on the road. From Pittsburg he floated down the Ohio on a keel-boat with a gay party, and on the 19th was at Portsmouth. Here he contemplated a foot journey to Chillicothe, but was prevented by the loan of a horse. In striking contrast with the present appearance of the country, deer were found to be so abundant upon the road that he shot one with his pistol, and with it paid for his entertainment. At Chillicothe, and afterward at a village called Delaware, he pursued his law studies. In December, 1821, according to an intention long formed, he landed in Natchez, Miss.

The following extracts from letters written by Mr. Quitman from Natchez, soon after his arrival, will be read with the deepest interest everywhere. They are graphic.

#### PROFESSIONAL HOPES.

"High fees, plenty of business, and not overstocked with eminent lawyers. There is room for a hard student and a determined man, spurred on by necessity and pride. My difficulty will be to live for a few months. I must appear as a gentleman, or I cannot expect to be treated as such. Mr. Griffith has offered me the use of his office and books, and, except boarding, I shall have but few wants. I shall cut them down to a narrow compass. I begin my economy by writing on coarse and soiled paper (a tavern waif), with the stump of a pen. Better stationery after a while, but now not a shilling for superfluities."

#### LIFE IN NATCHES, 1822.

"No part of the United States holds out better prospects for a young lawyer. Why did I not come here, instead of stopping in Ohio? Money is as plenty here as it is scarce there. You may have some notion of business here, when I inform you that the court has been in session twenty-eight days without disposing of the criminal business; there were 120 indictments. This would indicate a deplorable state of morals; but remember, the river brings here the floating population of the whole West, and the wealth of the country entices adventurers from many lands. Many of these are not novices in crime. Gambling and intemperance are carried to excess. 'Under the hill,' in this city (a straggling town at the base of the bluff, consisting of warehouses, low taverns, groggeries, dens of prostitution, and gaming-houses), vice and infamy are rampant and glaring, and the law almost powerless. Day and night the orgies of blackguardism and depravity are enacted without shame and restraint. The Sabbath is there particularly a day of profanation and debauchery. The gambler, the bully, and the harlot reign triumphant, and little jurisdiction is taken over their atrocities.

"In the city proper, and the surrounding country, there is genteel and well-regulated society. The religious classes are chiefly Presbyterians and Methodists—a few Episcopalians and Catholics. The planters are the prominent feature. They ride fine horses, are followed by well-dressed and very aristocratic servants, but affect great simplicity of costume themselves—straw hats and no neck-cloths in summer, and in winter, coarse shoes and blanket overcoats. They live profusely: drink costly Port, Madeira, and sherry, after the English fashion, and are exceedingly hospitable. Cotton-planting is the most lucrative



business that can be followed. Some of the planters net \$50,000 from a single crop.\*

"I suppose you are yet locked up in the grasp of winter. I spent New-year's Day at 'the Forest,' the residence of the late Sir William Dunbar, now owned by his son, Dr. Dunbar. The mansion, the stately oaks, the extensive park, and the vast, undulating sweep of cultivated fields, are really magnificent. On the table we had green peas, lettuce, radishes, artichokes, new potatoes, and spinach, grown in the open air, and roses, jessamines, jonquils, and pinks in profusion. What a delightful climate! I almost think of it as the retreat for your age. The peach and plum are in full bloom, and the birds sing merrily in the honeysuckles around my bedchamber.

"Natchez is a bustling place. The streets are lined with carriages, drays, and wagons. The rush to the river is incessant. Every hour we hear the roar of cannon, announcing the arrival and departure of steamers. Hundreds of arks, or flat-boats, loaded with the produce of the Western States, even from the interior of Pennsylvania, here line the landing for half a mile, often lying five tier deep!

#### SOCIAL HABITS AND EARLY SLAVE-LIFE IN MISSISSIPPI.

"Our bar is quartered at various country-seats—not boarding; a Mississippi planter would be insulted by such a proposal; but we are enjoying the hospitalities that are offered to us on all sides. The awful pestilence in the city brings out, in strong relief, the peculiar virtues of this people. The mansions of the planters are thrown open to all comers and goers free of charge. Whole families have free quarters during the epidemic, and country wagons are sent daily to the verge of the smitten city with fowls, vegetables, etc., for gratuitous distribution to the poor. I am now writing from one of those old mansions, and I can give you no better notion of life at the South than by describing the routine of a day. The owner is the widow of a Virginia gentleman of distinction, a brave officer, who died in the public service during the last war with Great Britain†. She herself is a native of this vicinity, of English parents settled here in Spanish times. She is an intimate friend of my first friend, Mrs. Griffith, and I have been in the habit of visiting her house ever since I came South. The whole aim of this excellent lady seems to be to make others happy. I do not believe she ever thinks of herself. She is growing old, but her parlor is constantly thronged with the young and gay, attracted by her cheerful and never-failing kindness. There are two large families from the city staying here, and every day some ten or a dozen transient guests. Mint-juleps in the morning are sent to our rooms, and then follows a delightful breakfast in the open verandah. We hunt, ride, fish, pay morning visits, play chess, read or lounge until dinner, which is served at two P. M., in great variety, and most delicately cooked in what is here called the Creole style—very rich, and many made or mixed dishes. In two hours afterward every body—white and black—has disappeared. The whole household is asleep—the *siesta* of the Italians. The ladies retire to their apartments and the gentlemen on sofas, settees, benches, hammocks, and often, gipsy fashion, on the grass under the spreading oaks. Here, too, in fine weather, the tea-table is always set before sunset, and then, until bedtime, we stroll, sing, play whist, or coquet. It is an indolent, yet charming life, and one quite thinking and takes to dreaming.

"This excellent lady is not rich, merely independent; but by thrifty housewifery, and a good dairy and garden, she contrives to dispense the most liberal hospitality. Her slaves appear to be, in a manner, free, yet are obedient and polite, and the farm is well worked. With all her gayety of disposition and fondness for the young, she is truly pious, and in her own apartment every night she has family prayer with her slaves, one or more of them being often

\* Many now have annual revenues of \$100,000 and over.

† The late Gen. F. L. Claiborne.

called on to sing and pray. When a minister visits the house, which happens very frequently, prayers night and morning are always said, and on these occasions the whole household and the guests assemble in the parlor: chairs are provided for the servants. They are married by a clergyman of their own color, and a sumptuous supper is always prepared. On public holidays they have dinners equal to an Ohio barbecue, and Christmas, for a week or ten days, is a protracted festival for the blacks. They are a happy, careless, unreflecting, good-natured race, who, left to themselves, would degenerate into drones or brutes, but, subjected to wholesome restraint and stimulus, become the best and most contented of laborers. They are strongly attached to 'old massa' and 'old missus,' but their devotion to 'young massa' and 'young missus' amounts to enthusiasm. They have great family pride, and are the most arrant coxcombs and aristocrats in the world. At a wedding I witnessed here last Saturday evening, where some 150 negroes were assembled, many being invited guests, I heard a number of them addressed as governors, generals, judges, and doctors (the titles of their masters), and a spruce, tight-set darkey, who waits on me in town, was called 'Major Quitman.' The 'colored ladies' are invariably Miss Joneses, Miss Smiths, or some such title. They are exceedingly pompous and ceremonious, gloved and highly perfumed. The 'gentlemen' sport canes, ruffles, and jewelry, wear boots and spurs, affect crape on their hats, and carry huge cigars. The belles wear gaudy colors, 'tote' their fans with the air of Spanish señoritas, and never stir out, though black as the ace of spades, without their parasols. In short, these 'niggers,' as you call them, are the happiest people I have ever seen, and some of them, in form, features, and movements, are real sultanas. So far from being fed on 'salted cotton-seed,' as we used to believe in Ohio, they are oily, sleek, bountifully fed, well clothed, well taken care of, and one hears them at all times whistling and singing cheerily at their work. They have an extraordinary facility for sleeping. A negro is a great night-walker. He will, after laboring all day in the burning sun, walk ten miles to a frolic, or to see his 'Dinah,' and be at home and at his work by daylight next morning. This would knock up a white man or an Indian. But a negro will sleep during the day—sleep at his work, sleep on the carriage-box, sleep standing up; and I have often seen them sitting bareheaded in the sun on a high rail-fence, sleeping as securely as though lying in bed. They never lose their equipoise, and will carry their cotton-baskets or their water-vessels, filled to the brim, poised on their heads, walking carelessly and at a rapid rate, without spilling a drop. The very weight of such burdens would crush a white man's brains into apoplexy. Compared with the ague-smitten and suffering settlers that you and I have seen in Ohio, or the sickly and starved operators we read of in factories and in mines, these Southern slaves are indeed to be envied. They are treated with great humanity and kindness.\*

Mr. Claiborne connects, necessarily, with the biography of Gen. Quitman, much valuable and interesting material in regard to the politics and public men of Mississippi, the Mexican war, and progress of national affairs, the Cuban revolution, &c., as they are all exhibited in letters, public documents, and discussions.

By his marriage into the family of Henry Turner, of Natchez, Quitman came into the possession of a very large estate, though it did not interfere with his active and successful practice at the bar. His first appearance in public life was in 1827, which saw him in the legislature of the State. In the canvass he seemed to have relied as much upon the possession of physical as of mental accomplishments,

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\* Gen. Quitman's father was a slaveholder in New-York.

which in a new country, are by no means, it seems, to be sneered at. His exhibitions in this respect, according to his biographer, if not very dignified, were at least effective. He threw off his coat and astonished the crowd by feats of wrestling, leaping, and boxing. In a foot race he beat the fastest. In lifting weights no one came near him; and when it came to rifle practice, even John Hawkins, the crack shot of the State, took off his hat, and we may suppose, offered it up with the remark, "Sir, you have done what no other man has been able to do."

Whilst in the legislature, Quitman effected many reforms in the practice of law and chancery, &c., and digested a military system for the State. He retired to the office of chancellor, to which he had been unanimously elected by the legislature, after the governor's appointment. When a candidate for the State Convention, he opposed bitterly the election of judges by the people; but twelve years afterwards declared the principle had worked so well in Mississippi, that he regarded it the best mode of electing judicial officers. This system, inaugurated by Mississippi, has been adopted in many of the States, and has had more to do, we have not the least doubt, with the present disorganization of affairs, than any other popular innovation. What good deity shall lead us back to the old conservative rule?

He distinguished himself in the convention by a proposition, which prevailed, prohibiting the legislature from borrowing money or pledging the credit of the State for banking purposes.

As chancellor, it is said of him, p. 134:

"In 1834 he resigned the chancellorship, carrying with him from the bench the confidence and respect of the community. He had displayed great capacity for labor, cheerfulness, patience, method, and a clear perception of the difference between the technical application of law and the comprehensive principles of equity. He was polite in his demeanor to all, above the suspicion of influence or partiality, and even those who disputed his decisions never doubted his conscientiousness and integrity."

In opposition to a projected railroad through the State of Mississippi to Nashville, Tenn., Mr. Quitman embraced a proposition to connect Natchez with the capital of the State, Alabama, Georgia, the Gulf of Mexico, &c., in order to build up a direct trade, and emancipate the State from her dependence upon New-Orleans. The two schemes divided the politicians of Mississippi in obtaining charters, but ended in like disastrous failures. During Quitman's connection with the Natchez company, it has been established that none of the swindling operations which afterwards were charged upon it, had been inaugurated. It is worthy of remark, that notwithstanding their early failures, the two great designs are now, nearly thirty years after, in whole or part carried out. New-Orleans has reached Nashville, and a railroad will very soon connect the waters of the Mississippi and the Alabama, through the State of Mississippi. Says Mr. Claiborne, p. 137:

"But for this unfortunate and indiscriminate grant of banking privileges—the mania of the times—and the temptation it held out to speculate and swin-

dle, not only would Natchez and the capital of the State have been connected, but the grand scheme of connecting the interior with the sea-shore, and the building up of an exporting and importing city at a harbor unrivalled on the Atlantic, would long since have been accomplished. The legislature of that day saw at once the grandeur and practicability of the enterprise. A marine, and very thorough and satisfactory, survey was made. A line of route, admirably adapted for railroads, was marked out, when, in an evil hour, they were persuaded that banking privileges would enable the company to build the road. This was the death-knell of that magnificent measure. It was secretly strangled and interred by the unprincipled managers in charge, and from its rotting members there sprang up the notorious Brandon Bank—the most audacious and infamous of all the swindling corporations of those times.”

The patriotic struggles of Texas awoke a response all over the South, and at the head of a company of volunteers we find Quitman crossing the Sabine, in which service, though he was not drawn into the field of fight, he did good service in protecting the flying settlers from meditated Indian hostilities. The campaign at least depleted his private purse to the extent of \$10,000, which he never reclaimed. On his return home he entered the canvass for Congress, but was beaten in consequence of the division of parties, growing out of questions of State rights, popular elections, &c. He was commissioned, in 1837, as brigadier-general of militia, in which position he performed the greatest service to the State. The following note, in Claiborne's work, is interesting, p. 164 :

“In those ‘flush’ times it required a long purse to hold office in Mississippi. A canvass for Congress cost from \$5,000 to \$10,000. Candidates were expected to indorse for their ‘friends,’ to loan indiscriminately, to pay any price asked for entertainments, and to establish and support newspapers, besides sundry other outlays. One canvass cost Mr. Prentiss \$40,000. When Gov. Lynch and Col. J. C. Wilkins were candidates on the White ticket, and Franklin E. Plummer was the financial manager of the canvass, he drew from each of them \$10,000, besides borrowing as much on their responsibility from the various banks. I subjoin a copy of one of Gen. Quitman's military bills :

“1838.		To City Hotel,	Dr.
Nov. 1.	Sundries for friends from Clinton.....		\$60 00
“	“ “ “ six.....		12 50
“	21. Governor and suite.....		499 62
“	12. Treat to company.....		100 00
“Received payment.			\$672 12

A trip, about this time, to Europe, furnished the biographer some readable items ; but we will pass it over with a single reference to one of the letters from London, in which Quitman speaks of his visit to Holland, and of having seen some persons of the same name who were of the original stock. The family was rich and respectable. He saw their tombs, and the church pew, which they had occupied for more than a century.

On page 107 of the biography there is a reference to the celebrated governor, Poindexter, of Mississippi, then in the United States Senate. We became acquainted with this unique character in 1848 or '9, at the residence of Judge Preston, of New-Orleans. His conversational

powers were extraordinary, and his reminiscences of politics and public life covered everything. His denunciation of the Yankees was terrific. He told many stories, and among the rest this. Gen. Jackson was just about to be inaugurated. Van Buren delivered an able and eloquent speech in the Senate, in praise of the old chief. He (Poindexter), in reply, said: "The speech of the senator had a parallel in that of the thief upon the cross; in effect they were the same: 'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.'" Quitman, in 1831, admitted that Poindexter fascinated him, admits his extraordinary powers, and adverts to the reports affecting his personal character. Claiborne promises to look into the matter, and issue soon a biography of "Old Poinc."

Pecuniary embarrassments, which threatened to consume nearly the whole of his large estate, and which were largely the result of endorsements, drove General Quitman again to the bar, at which his success was, as usual, marked. He was soon relieved of debt, and returned to the family circle, to his sylvan shades, and his well-selected library. He had a taste for the refined arts, for horticulture, and for flowers.

The consideration of the bond and repudiation question in Mississippi occupies a chapter of the work before us. In the political contest which first occurred in 1843, General Quitman went with the bond-payers, though he differed with that party on some points. He thought that the liability of the State, in the redemption of the bonds, was purely a judicial question, and should not be submitted to the popular vote. The bond-payers should come, as other litigants, and have a full and fair adjudication before the Courts. Though strict law was against the bonds, he did not doubt that an investigation before a tribunal so high, would lead to a suitable indemnity to the bond-holders. The result of the contest was, that the bonds were repudiated, upon the ground that the legislature and governor transcended their powers, and openly violated the constitution of the State. The position of General Quitman is thus stated by his confidential friend, John Marshall, p. 209:

"It is true, General Quitman was among those who advocated the payment of the Union Bank bonds, but he always regarded the constitution as having been violated in their emission. He was only willing to pay the debt in the event of the people waiving their constitutional right to repudiate the unwarrantable acts of their servants. The people sternly and wisely disavowed these acts, and made an example of unbridled power which subsequent legislators have never forgotten. General Quitman afterward held that the question had been finally decided upon, and we have before us, from his own pen, the declaration that he was *firmly opposed, whether as a private citizen or in an official capacity, to a resuscitation of the question. Without a new assumption by the people, he would regard a law for the payment of the rejected bonds as a fraud on their rights.*" He had opposed the charter of the Union Bank at the time of its incorporation, and had also opposed the issue of the bonds at the time of the discussion of the question, as a matter of State policy."

The account of the canvass of Quitman for the United States Senate, against Governor McNutt and Dr. Gwin, is interesting. Gov-



error Foote took the field, not as a candidate, but, as he said, to expose the enormities of McNutt. The contest ended in the election of Foote, himself, to the Senate. We extract from Mr. Claiborne, p. 219:

"Of all the public men in the State, he (Foote) was best fitted for the encounter. He knew the inconsistencies of M'Nutt, and was utterly indifferent to his own. What he lacked in logic he made up in dexterity. His fluency and fancy were inexhaustible. M'Nutt was a man of facts and figures, thoroughly posted in State history and statute law; Foote had a limited knowledge of these, but a vast stock of miscellaneous information, and the facility of appropriating to his own use the facts supplied by his adversary. M'Nutt was a master of broad humor and smutty anecdote, which he freely retailed; Foote revolted from a vulgar epithet, but, as a harlequin, was irresistibly droll. M'Nutt told jokes; Foote recited epigrams. M'Nutt presented himself to the people as a patriot assailed by a triumvirate of ambitious aspirants for favor without regard to principle; Foote appealed to them as a disinterested guardian of the public purity, and the generous champion of his absent friends:

'Absentem qui rodit amicum,  
Qui non defendit, alio culpante,  
Hic niger est: hunc tu Romane caveto.'

M'Nutt was a formidable man anywhere, and under any circumstances. He was said to be deficient in personal courage, but of this there is no proof, and the imputation is wholly irreconcilable with the firmness and inflexible will he exhibited in many emergencies; Foote was impetuous and fearless, often, through caprice or for imaginary injuries, deserting his friends, but never turning his back to an enemy. Two years before, in the memorable contest for the Senate between Geo. Poindexter and Robert J. Walker, he had been put up by the Jackson party to worry the former, and actually teased him from the field; and in this contest of 1845, though M'Nutt had little sensibility and great power of endurance, he was terribly badgered by Foote."

Some points relating to the private character of Quitman, may be here adverted to. He was frank, honest, above-board, unsuspecting, and very ambitious. He was all the time being deceived by the professions of men, who won his favor and depleted his purse. He was very credulous, and easily flattered, but was too proud and honorable to stoop to the arts of the politician. This account by his biographer would have been our own, founded upon an acquaintance of several years, during the latter portion of his public life. We admired him very much.

The Mexican war now opening, Quitman at once sought a military appointment, and at the instance of Mr. Calhoun, the South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana delegations, etc., though, it seems, somewhat against his own inclination, received the appointment of brigadier-general from Mr. Polk. He immediately repaired to the seat of war. He disapproved of the capitulation of Monterey, and otherwise differed from General Taylor and the President on the line of policy best to be pursued in Mexico.

An episode may be here tolerated, in regard to the conduct of the celebrated Mississippi Rifles, under charge of Col., now President Jefferson Davis, on the field of Buena Vista. The great movement then made by Davis, is said to have been without previous parallel in the art of war, and was regarded by the Duke of Wellington as new and

masterly. It was subsequently made, we learn on the authority of General Cushing, on the fields of the Crimea.

But to the extract from Claiborne, p. 289 :

"The battle had been raging sometime with fluctuating fortunes, and was setting against us, when Gen. Taylor, with Col. Davis and others, arrived on the field. Several regiments (which were subsequently rallied and fought bravely) were in full retreat; O'Brien, after having his men and horses completely cut up, had been compelled to draw off his guns, and Bragg, with almost superhuman energy, was sustaining the brunt of the fight. Many officers of distinction had fallen. Col. Davis rode forward to examine the position of the enemy, and concluding that the best way to arrest our fugitives would be to make a bold demonstration, he resolved at once to attack the enemy, there posted in force, immediately in front, supported by cavalry, and two divisions in reserve in his rear. It was a resolution bold almost to rashness, but the emergency was pressing. With a handful of Indiana Volunteers, who still stood by their brave old colonel (Bowles), and his own regiment, he advanced at double quick time, firing as he advanced. His own brave fellows fell fast under the rolling musketry of the enemy, but their rapid and fatal volleys carried dismay and death into the adverse ranks. A deep ravine separated the combatants. Leaping into it, the Mississippians soon appeared on the other side, and with a shout that was heard over the battle-field, they poured in a well-directed fire, and rushed upon the enemy. Their deadly aim and wild enthusiasm were irresistible. The Mexicans fled in confusion to their reserves, and Davis seized the commanding position they had occupied. He next fell upon a party of cavalry and compelled it to fly, with the loss of their leader and other officers. Immediately afterward a brigade of lancers, 1,000 strong, were seen approaching at a gallop, in beautiful array, with sounding bugles and fluttering pennons. It was an appalling spectacle, but not a man flinched from his position. The time between our devoted band and eternity seemed brief indeed. But conscious that the eye of the army was upon them, that the honor of Mississippi was at stake, and knowing that, if they gave way, or were ridden down, our unprotected batteries in the rear, upon which the fortunes of the day depended, would be captured, each man resolved to die in his place sooner than retreat. Not the Spartan martyrs at Thermopylae—not the sacred battalion of Epaminondas—not the tenth legion of Julius Caesar—not the Old Guard of Napoleon—ever evinced more fortitude than these young volunteers in a crisis when death seemed inevitable. They stood like statues, as frigid and motionless as the marble itself. Impressed with this extraordinary firmness, when they had anticipated panic and flight, the lancers advanced more deliberately, as though they saw for the first time the dark shadow of the fate that was impending over them. Col. Davis had thrown his men into the form of a re-entering angle (familiarily known as his famous V movement), both flanks resting on ravines, the lancers coming down on the intervening ridge. This exposed them to a converging fire, and the moment they came within rifle range each man singled out his object, and the whole head of the column fell. A more deadly fire never was delivered, and the brilliant array recoiled and retreated, paralyzed and dismayed.

"Shortly afterward, the Mexicans having concentrated a large force on the right for their final attack, Col. Davis was ordered in that direction. His regiment had been in action all day, exhausted by thirst and fatigue, much reduced by the carnage of the morning engagement, and many in the ranks suffering from wounds, yet the noble fellows moved at double-quick time. Bowles' little band of Indiana Volunteers still acted with them. After marching several hundred yards they perceived the Mexican infantry advancing, in three lines, upon Bragg's battery, which, though entirely unsupported, held its position with a resolution worthy of his fame. The pressure upon him stimulated the Mississippians. They increased their speed, and when the enemy were within one hundred yards of the battery and confident of its capture, they took him in flank and reverse, and poured in a raking and destructive fire. This broke his right

line, and the rest soon gave way and fell back precipitately. Here Col. Davis was severely wounded."

After this lengthy extract in regard to the heroic conduct of Davis, we shall pass soon to the acts of Quitman at the gates of Mexico, but before doing so will be permitted a momentary notice of the behavior of the South Carolina regiment under the fire of the Mexican enemy. Those who sneer at Carolina courage and virtues are, in general, too ignorant of history to be affected by the record. Butler left his sick bed, against medical advice, to lead the Palmettos. His horse was shot under him. He took another, and was severely wounded. Dickinson now commanded, and, taking the flag from Beggs, was himself shot down, as was also Beggs. Butler, resuming the command, was killed by the side of Dickinson, under the flag. Dickinson fell again, but now mortally wounded, and Gladden, placing the flag in the hands of Leonard, led the charge. There was no wavering as death swept through the ranks. Shot and shell hailed upon them. The storm raged:

"In the whole history," says Claiborne, "there has never been a more striking example of indifference to death, the result of stern resolve. Each man fought for the honor of Carolina. Several companies were almost annihilated. Some had not men enough left to bury their dead, or bear their wounded to the ambulances. The uniforms of some of the officers were literally torn from their persons; the color-bearers were shot down, but the flag, bathed in their blood, was always seized as they fell and borne to the front. Proudly it floated through the tempest of death until the victory had been won, and then, all torn and blood-stained, it drooped over its own glorious dead! The regiment entered the battle with 273, rank and file, and when it was over it mustered 169! It had no missing; its dead and wounded made up the deficiency. Cadets of a noble State, sons of a sunny clime, branded by their country as traitors for defending the Constitution and their rights from usurpation and outrage, yet dying cheerfully for that country in a foreign land—the world may learn that such a race, in defence of their own homesteads and institutions, can never be subdued!"

The glorious conduct of Quitman during the whole war, need not, however, be referred to here. It is a matter of history with which every schoolboy is familiar. It lives in the memory of the whole country. We shall give but two extracts from the book:

#### THE STORMING OF THE GARITA.

"When within two hundred yards of the Belen, Major Loring fell, severely wounded. At this juncture Gen. Quitman seized a rifle, attached his handkerchief to it as a flag, and waving it over his head, ordered the assault. With one wild cheer they followed their leader through a hurricane of fire, and at twenty minutes past one drove the enemy from his guns. Quitman, black with smoke, and stained with blood, leaped upon the battery and called for a flag. Lieut. Sellick, a young and dauntless Carolinian, vaulted to his side, and amid the iron tempest from the citadel, proudly planted the Palmetto banner. Like the famous Jasper of the Revolution, he fell under its folds.

"Gen. Smith, aware that they were performing an act in a great drama that history would never forget, held up his watch, and called on all to note the time. The ensign of conquest floated on the walls of the capital.

"Our troops in advance of the Garita were now directed to fall back to the partial shelter it afforded, until batteries could be constructed to support the attack upon the citadel. During the night, by extraordinary exertions, and at much personal hazard, Lieut. Beauregard located a number of batteries for our heavy pieces; but at break of day, on the 14th, a flag from the citadel proposed to surrender. The Mexican chief, with his troops, had withdrawn from the capital. Leaving the Palmettos posted at the Belen, and the 2d Pennsylvania regiment in the citadel, with the rifles in front, and Steptoe's battery in the rear, Quitman conducted his column to the Grand Plaza, and formed in front of the national palace. He gave orders to plant the flag of our republic upon its dome, and precisely at 7 A. M. it was saluted by his division.

"At 8 A. M. the general-in-chief, with his staff, in full uniform, and escorted by cavalry, appeared on the Grand Plaza, and was received by Quitman with the highest military honors. He had intended to enter the city first, with Worth's division, by the longer and easier route of the San Cosme causeway, and had there concentrated his strongest array. But this intention had been defeated by the bold, impetuous, and masterly operations of Quitman.

"Captivated, however, by the brilliant *coup-de-main* of the Mississippians, and the great military qualities he had exhibited on these last three eventful days, the general-in-chief immediately appointed him Governor of the City of Mexico.

"And now, at last, the soldier's dream of ambition was realized. He stood over the ashes of Montezuma, and ruled where Cortez, the prodigy of the sixteenth century, had held his regal sway. First in the fortress of Chapultepec! First on the walls of the capital! First in possession of the city! First to erect our national standard on its loftiest tower!

"Oh, war! thou hast thy fierce delight,  
Thy gleams of joy intensely bright!"

#### CONDUCT OF THE GENERAL.

"The conduct of Major-General Quitman was truly sublime. I never witnessed so much chivalrous heroism, united with so much concern for his men, and with so much cool intellectual battle-wisdom. While he calmly dared everything, his mind was supreme, presiding over everything, and making provision for every emergency. At all points he was exposed, and he would suffer no man to expose himself to shield him. On one occasion, when it was necessary for him to pass along a line of desperate exposure to effect an object, I approached him and asked permission to do what *he* was about to do in person, to bear his message, intimating to him that my own fall would be, in the crisis of the moment, of no importance compared with his. His reply was, while he puffed away at his cigar, 'No, take care of yourself; it is necessary for *me* to do it.' And he *did* do it. At another time, about the middle of the afternoon, when our own gun was silenced (for we had run out of ammunition), and the fire of the enemy was fast dealing death around, I asked him to let me be one of a select party, at once, to storm and take the citadel, and by one dreadful sacrifice, if needs be, put an end to this one-sided work of blood. His reply, again, was in the same spirit, 'No, I will not permit my brave men thus to be sacrificed. I must take care of them, as well as conquer the foe. All I now design is to maintain, with as little loss as possible, my present position until night.' When night covers us we will bring up our guns; will have an abundance of ammunition; we will construct a battery, and before to-morrow's sun is an hour high, we will plant our country's flag on the capital of Mexico—Mexico will be ours! All this was said in the calmest manner, while he quietly smoked his cigar, without the least emphasis or excitement, with no discernible manifestation of boast or vainglory, and with the enemy's balls falling as hail around him.

Returning from Mexico, Gen. Quitman urged upon the President the permanent military occupation of that country, and showed that

it might be held without expense to the United States, and with but temporary opposition from the Mexican people.

In the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore, in 1848, he was strongly pressed for the Vice-Presidency, and seemed to have more personal strength and popularity than any other candidate. His defeat he attributed, it is said, in part to the citizens of his own State. The following year he was nominated by mass meetings, and then by the Democratic Convention, for governor, and was opposed by the Hon. Luke Lea, who made a vigorous campaign, relying chiefly upon the alleged political inconsistencies and errors of his opponent. Gen. Quitman's majority was 10,000, and he was inaugurated governor on the 10th January, 1850.

The complicity of Gen. Quitman with Cuban affairs, which led to so much angry and excited controversy, is treated by Mr. Claiborne in great detail. It is unnecessary to follow him very closely. Never before had the rights of the States received so severe a shock as was experienced in his person. The federal minions dared to lay their hands upon the executive of a sovereign State, and that executive was practically compelled to submit! Let us refer for a moment to the facts.

Gen. Lopez arriving in the United States, represented the people of Cuba to be panting for independence, and ready to strike the blow. His personal appeals are said to have made an impression even upon Mr. Calhoun. Privately he visited Quitman in Mississippi, and poured into his ear seductive and eloquent words; and concluded with the offer, in the name of the patriots, of the leadership of the revolution, and the supreme command in the event of triumph. Lopez plied the advantage he had gained by referring to the military laurels which the chief had earned in Mexico. "It was the wizard spell upon a magnetic temperament which was never entirely broke, not even by the bloody drama that soon ensued, and the persecution and calumny that followed, like bloodhounds upon the track." The hero of the Belen hesitated, pondered, but *did not yield*. A Roman firmness only could resist. Admitting the claims of Cuba, he awaited the blow that she might strike—

"Who would be free,  
Themselves must strike the blow;"

then he would take the field, and assume the responsibilities which were offered him. Here the chiefs parted. The drama opened. The Hero of Cardenas suffered an ignominious death on the Plaza of Havana. The executive of Mississippi answers to an indictment for setting on foot an expedition against Cuba, resigns his high place, and appears before the courts of New-Orleans! His resignation, though contrary to the wishes of many of his friends and advisers, is thus explained by himself, p. 66, vol. ii.:

"I therefore, fellow-citizens, now resign the high trust confided to my hands, with no feeling of personal regret except that I could not serve you better;



with no feeling of shame, for I am innocent of the causes which have induced the necessity of this step. On the contrary, although personally I fear no investigation and shun no scrutiny, I have spared no efforts consistent with self-respect to avert this result. So soon as I learned that attempts would be made, under an act of Congress of the last century, to remove me from this State, I formally offered to the proper authorities of the United States any pledge or security to appear in New-Orleans and meet the charges against me so soon as my term of office should expire; and I remonstrated against the indignity thus to be offered, not to myself, but to the State, in dragging away from his duties her chief magistrate."

This infamous persecution ended on the 6th March, 1851, by the entering of a *nolle prosequi* upon the part of the United States. The result was hailed in New-Orleans and throughout Mississippi with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and Quitman was feted, serenaded, and dined. Enthusiasm never ran higher. The public verdict, as quoted by his biographer, p. 76, vol. ii., was:

"Thou hast served, and well, the sacred cause  
That Hampden, Sydney, died for. Thou hast stood,  
Scorning all thought of self, from first to last,  
Among the foremost in that glorious field;  
From first to last; and, ardent as thou art,  
Held on with equal steps as best became  
A lofty mind, loftiest when most assailed;  
Never, though galled by many a barbed shaft,  
By many a bitter taunt from friend and foe,  
Swerving or shrinking."

We now reach the chapter which treats of the political discussions in Mississippi, growing out of the compromise measures of 1850. We traveled largely in the State ourselves, during this agitation, and will not soon forget the incidents of the canvass. A convention of the State was called to take action upon the compromise. The Union party supported the compromise, and the Southern-Rights party repudiated it, and advised co-operation with South Carolina and all other States whom it was thought might be united in resistance. It was a bold and gallant struggle, but the policy of *resistance* and *independence* was ten years in advance of its time. Thank God the delay was not fatal to it.

Quitman's return to Mississippi was like a Roman triumphal procession, and he was almost immediately nominated for Governor by the Democratic Convention upon his own platform—the repeal of the compromise—or decided State action to oppose its operations. His opponent was Henry S. Foote, who on another occasion had defended him against the assaults of McNutt. The private relations of the two were good at the opening of the campaign, but did not long continue so. Quitman was a poor speaker, though he improved as he went along. His logic and earnestness made up for his defects of rhetoric. He withdrew from the field, and resigned the candidacy the moment it was understood the popular vote of the State was in favor of the Union party. The resignation was regretted by many who believed his election could nevertheless have been secured. Mr. Claiborne thus refers to the respective characteristics of the candidates, p. 144, vol. ii:

"Gen. Foote has a style and manner that may be called provoking. He has a diarrhoea of words; irony and satire are his favorite weapons, and, when driven from his position into a corner, he has a plausibility, offensive to a plain-dealing, matter-of-fact man. Quitman would fight as long as he believed himself to be right, but no longer. Foote will fight for the pleasure of fighting. Quitman stood square upon his platform, and would debate no other issues. Foote wriggled around it, and, employed his powers to tantalize and provoke. He had, beyond doubt, great personal respect for Quitman, but his tactics were indispensable to his success. He gave the cue to his followers, and taught them to evade the true issues, while boldly challenging discussion. He adopted Danton's maxim, '*De l'audace, de toujours de l'audace.*' And while Quitman stood as firm as Dentatus, Foote played the part sometimes of Suchet the tactician, and sometimes of Murat leading his squadrons to the charge. Gen. Foote gradually, as the canvass progressed, became more heated and personal, declaiming about traitors and treason, and other innuendoes, too much for the forbearance of his adversary.\*

With much difficulty Jefferson Davis was prevailed upon to accept the position which Quitman had abandoned, but it was too late in the day, and his own health was too much reduced for the canvass. His gallant spirit, then as ever since, triumphed over physical infirmities.

In 1853, Gen. Quitman visited the Northern States, mainly in pursuance of his chivalrous purpose of aiding the independence of Cuba, as far as it could be done without violating the laws of the United States, or existing treaties with Spain. This brought him again before the Federal courts, at New-Orleans, where he was compelled to enter into recognizance to observe the neutrality laws. This he did under arrest and with protests. In the language of his biographer, p. 208, vol. ii.:

"Calumnies have been uttered since his death. But the same potent considerations—considerations connected with the cause itself, and with humanity—that sealed his lips, still exist. Until these determine, the silence and the mystery must remain unbroken; and his pure and unsullied character in private life—his proverbial fidelity to pecuniary engagements—his inflexible resolution, and his great name, must be his defence against falsehood and detraction. The materials for his vindication—his notes of what transpired at Washington—his correspondence with the friends of Cuba—the evidence of his business arrangements, receipts and expenditures—the programme of his intended operations, showing how closely he had studied the laws of nations, the statutes of his country, and the opinions of celebrated jurists of this country and of England, will, at a proper time, be given to the world; and they will place his memory even on a higher pedestal than it now occupies in the public mind."

Gen. Quitman now appears in the halls of Congress. Here he served with great fidelity until his decease. His appointment as Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House, gave great satisfaction to the army of which he was the staunch friend, and through his efforts its pay was increased. His speech in April, 1856, upon the repeal of the neutrality laws, made a deep impression upon

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\* We trust that the Governor has now gotten entirely rid of this bad propensity of crying "treason" against his opponents, seeing that the inexorable necessities of the times has driven him, where we are glad to find him, in the ranks of the "Traitors!"—Ed.

the country, and was applauded far and near. Though he had received the highest number of votes on the first ballot, he was defeated for the vice-presidency, in the Democratic Convention, at Cincinnati, this year. His next important speech was upon the Territorial question, in which the designs of Black Republicanism were exposed. He made other speeches, but all upon the side of State-rights and the strictest construction of the Constitution.

In 1858 his health evidenced the most rapid and fatal decline, but he stuck to his post, taking active part in the debates as well as in the labors of the committee, and carrying through a bill for the promotion of the volunteer service. The Kansas question excited him to the highest pitch. Writing to John Marshall, Feb. 1, 1858, he proposed a plan of secession, but one which fell short in efficacy of that which was eventually adopted :

"Who can doubt what, under such a state of things, the South ought to do? If she waits for the border States, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, or either of them, to move, she will never act, but gradually become the willing slave of an insatiate master. The cotton States must move first. Alabama and your own great State have already taken the first step, and I doubt not Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Arkansas are ready to fall into line. Let but five States determine upon secession and separation to preserve their social systems, and all the other States having similar systems must sooner or later unite with them. The rationale of effecting this great measure is a very delicate matter. The plan by which it is to be effected must be well digested, and then firmly pursued to the result. I propose that each State shall hold a convention, assert, by solemn resolutions, the right of withdrawing from the Union, declare the violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and that the time has come when her honor, her interests, and her safety require such separation, but that she defers the act merely to confer with, and co-operate, if possible, with her sister States similarly situated, as to the proper time and manner of her withdrawal. Then appoint delegates, with proper powers, to consult with such of the slaveholding States as may *coincide* with her (not all the States, or we will, perhaps, be out-voted by the submissionists), and may consent to meet her delegates. Let the delegates, when assembled, present the mode, manner, and time of withdrawal, to be adopted by the conventions of the respective States. After the act of secession, let delegates immediately assemble to form a confederation or constitution, to be submitted to the assenting States.

We pass over the grand military and civic *ovation* which was granted to Gen. Quitman, in 1858, by the people of South Carolina, at their beautiful capital, and the noble and patriotic speech which he delivered upon the occasion. Alas, the feather had been placed upon the camel's back, and he succumbed! Broken in health and spirits he left Washington, and, after a trying journey, appeared again at his favorite domestic seat of Monmouth, where he died on the 17th of July, 1858, in his fifty-ninth year. Of the cause of his death Dr. Cartwright thus expresses himself, p. 288, vol. ii. :

"The attending physicians, alarmed at the somnolency arising from no apparent cause, and recognizing it as a dangerous, if not a fatal symptom, communicated their fears to his family. I was telegraphed to hasten to Monmouth. On my arrival, I ascertained that this somnolency had begun to creep upon him in Washington City about the time of the adjournment of Congress, and had

been increasing ever since; that he had been more or less unwell all the session, but had, nevertheless, attended strictly to his duties, and, in fact, had not enjoyed his usual good health since he had suffered from the mysterious poisoning at the National Hotel. He thought he had slept all the way from Washington to Memphis in the cars. It was evidently not natural sleep, 'tired nature's sweet restorer,' but a typhoid narcosis, the harbinger of exhausted vital power. His iron constitution, impaired by the poisoning at the National Hotel, had been overtaxed by the multiform labors his great soul, forgetful of self, imposed upon it in the service of his constituents, his family, his friends, and his country."

We bring to an end our sketch of the career of Gen. Quitman, with a protest against the invidious and unjust comparison made by his biographer (Vol. ii., p. 295), between Mr. Calhoun and himself, at least so far as that comparison is to the prejudice of Mr. Calhoun. What could exceed in absurdity, and we say it with great personal kindness for Mr. Claiborne, such a declaration as this—"for bold, comprehensive, and correct views of statesmanship and political consistency, proof against the temptation of ambition, Quitman must take the precedence of Calhoun!" "He (Calhoun) was too much of a croaker and Cassandra in politics, and lacked the heroic elements of a national popularity!" This from a Southern man, a State-rights man, an admirer and ardent friend of Quitman!! Rise up, ye venerable shades, and reprove the profanity. The indictment against Mr. Calhoun is, that he changed his policy, became conservative, and failed to be a popular leader. What crimes! But see, even the biographer himself can palliate them, on another page, when not driven by the necessities of this unfortunate comparison, in which there is no propriety. The two men are not to be thus mentioned. They are lights shining in different spheres, and having different orbits, without the possibility of their coming into collision. Both belong to history. But only to think of Calhoun, with a Southern Confederacy in full blast, as a "*croaker and Cassandra in politics*!" Erase, Mr. Claiborne, this stain upon your admirable little volumes, when you come, as we hope there will soon be necessity, to make another edition of them. We close with this quotation, from pp. 277-8, vol. ii.:

"Intrusted by President Monroe with the department of war, Calhoun infused an energy into its operation still then unknown, and inaugurated systems and improvements so comprehensive and splendid as almost to transcend the constitutional restraints. Subsequently, for a brief space, secretary-of-state, he pressed the acquisition of Texas with an energy that paralyzed the diplomacy of England and France, and soon overcame what many considered insuperable difficulties. There was scarcely any obstacle his genius and enthusiasm would not have encountered to push forward the republic, until he became convinced that all these energies and acquisitions were to be employed against the rights and institutions of the South, and then he grew rigidly conservative. He collected his great faculties and concentrated them into a lens, the focus being the Constitution, and there, by that powerful light, the country saw the danger that threatened it. Ardent by nature—the blood running impetuously through his veins—full of grand ideas, fitted for a career of splendor, he became reserved, circumspect, an austere constructionist, a penurious legislator, a stickler against

appropriations, opposed pre-emptions and encouragements to Western immigration, and voted against the war with Mexico! The explanation of this surprising change, is that he foresaw increased danger to the institutions of the South. The influx of foreigners, and their immediate investment with the privileges of citizens, he regarded as an evil. Most of them come here the victims of oppression and bad government, and with exaggerated and impracticable notions of liberty; it is natural that they should respond to the claim for the largest liberty. Those that settle in the North and West, unacquainted with our domestic system, and deriving all their information from abolitionists, naturally fall into their ranks."

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## ART. IX.—THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

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### 1.—SPEECH OF HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS, ON WITHDRAWING FROM THE U. S. SENATE, JAN. 21, 1861.

MR. DAVIS.—I rise, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course my functions are terminated here. It has seemed to me proper, however, that I should appear in the Senate to announce that fact to my associates, and I will say but very little more. The occasion does not invite me to go into argument; and my physical condition would not permit me to do so if otherwise; and yet it seems to become me to say something on the part of the State I here represent on an occasion so solemn as this.

It is known to Senators who have served with me here, that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there were justifiable cause; if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the Government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, counselled them then that if the state of things which they apprehended should exist when the convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted.

I hope none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and to disregard its Constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification and secession, so often confounded, are, indeed, antagonistic principles. Nullification is a remedy which it is sought to apply within the Union, and against the agent of the States. It is only to be justified when the agent has violated his constitutional obligations, and a State, assuming to judge for itself, denies the right of the agent thus to act, and appeals to the other States of the Union for a decision; but when the States themselves, and when the people of the States, have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the doctrine of secession in its practical application.

A great man, who now reposes with his fathers, and who has often been arraigned for a want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep seated attachment to the Union: his determination to find some remedy for existing ills short of a severance of the ties which bound South Carolina to the other States, that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of nullification, which he proclaimed to be



peaceful : to be within the limits of State power, not to disturb the Union, but only to be a means of bringing the agent before the tribunal of the States for their judgment.

Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. There was a time when none denied it. I hope the time may come again, when a better comprehension of the theory of our Government, and the inalienable rights of the people of the States, will prevent any one from denying that each State is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

I therefore say I concur in the action of the people of Mississippi, believing it to be necessary and proper, and should have been bound by their action if my belief had been otherwise ; and this brings me to the important point which I wish, on this last occasion, to present to the Senate. It is by this confounding of nullification and secession that the name of a great man, whose ashes now mingle with his mother earth, has been invoked to justify coercion against a seceded State. The phrase, "to execute the laws," was an expression which Gen. Jackson applied to the case of a State refusing to obey the laws while yet a member of the Union. That is not the case which is now presented. The laws are to be executed over the United States, and upon the people of the United States. They have no relation to any foreign country. It is a perversion of terms, at least it is a great misapprehension of the case, which cites that expression for application to a State which has withdrawn from the Union. You may make war on a foreign State. If it be the purpose of gentlemen, they may make war against a State which has withdrawn from the Union ; but there are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded State. A State finding herself in the condition in which Mississippi has judged she is, in which her safety requires that she should provide for the maintenance of her rights out of the Union, surrenders all the benefits, (and they are known to be many), deprives herself of the advantages, (they are known to be great), severs all the ties of affection, (and they are close and enduring), which have bound her to the Union ; and thus divesting herself of every benefit, taking upon herself every burden, she claims to be exempt from any power to execute the laws of the United States within her limits.

I well remember an occasion when Massachusetts was arraigned before the bar of the Senate, and when the doctrine of coercion was rife, and to be applied against her, because of the rescue of a fugitive slave in Boston. My opinion then was the same that it is now. Not in a spirit of egotism, but to show that I am not influenced in my opinion because the case is my own, I refer to that time and that occasion, as containing the opinion which I then entertained, and on which my present conduct is based. I then said, if Massachusetts, following her through a stated line of conduct, choose to take the last step which separates her from the Union, it is her right to go, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to coerce her back, but will say to her, God speed, in memory of the kind associations which once existed between her and the other States.

It has been a conviction of pressing necessity ; it has been a belief that we are to be deprived in the Union of the rights which our fathers bequeathed to us, which has brought Mississippi into her present decision. She has heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis of an attack upon her social institutions ; and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of the races. The Declaration of Independence is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made. The communities were declaring their independence ; the people of those communities were asserting that no man was born, to use the language of Mr. Jefferson, booted and spurred, to ride over the rest of mankind ; that men were created equal—meaning the men of the political community ; that there was no divine right to rule ; that no man inherited the right to govern ; that there were no classes by which power and place descended to families ; but that all stations were equally within the grasp of each member of the body politic. These were the great principles they announced ; these

were the purposes for which they made their declaration: these were the ends to which their enunciation was directed. They have no reference to the slave; else, how happened it that among the items of arraignment against George III. was that he endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do, to stir up insurrection among our slaves. Had the Declaration announced that the negroes were free and equal, how was the prince to be arraigned for stirring up insurrection among them? And how was this to be enumerated among the high crimes which caused the colonies to sever their connection with the mother country? When our Constitution was formed, the same idea was rendered more palpable, for there we find provision made for that very class of persons as property; they were not put upon the footing of equality with white men—not even upon that of paupers and convicts; but, so far as representation was concerned, were discriminated against as a lower caste, only to be represented in the numerical proportion of three fifths.

Then, Senators, we recur to the compact which binds us together; we recur to the principles upon which our government was founded; and when you deny them, and when you deny to us the right to withdraw from a government which, thus perverted, threatens to be destructive of our rights, we but tread in the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence, and take the hazard. This is done not in hostility to others, not to injure any section of the country, not even for our own pecuniary benefit; but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the right we inherited, and which it is our duty to transmit unshorn to our children.

I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents toward yours. I am sure I feel no hostility to you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people whom I represent toward those whom you represent. I therefore feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceful relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God, and in our firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may.

In the course of my service here, associated at different times with a great variety of Senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long; there have been points of collision, but whatever of offence there has been to me I leave here—I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offence I have given, which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which, in the heat of discussion, I have inflicted. I go hence unencumbered of the remembrance of any injury received, and having discharged the duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered.

Mr. President and Senators, having made the announcement which the occasion seemed to me to require, it only remains for me to bid you a final adieu.

## 2.—LETTER FROM THE HON. CHARLES GAYARRE, ON THE CESSATION OF LOUISIANA TO THE UNITED STATES, AND THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES RESULTING THEREFROM.

*To Hon. JOHN PERKINS, of Madison, Member of the State Convention:*

DEAR SIR: You mentioned to me in conversation, a few days since, that the contemplated secession of Louisiana from the Union was looked upon as fraught with a peculiar difficulty, arising from the fact of its having been purchased by

the United States, and that this difficulty would probably be forced on the consideration of the State Convention, which is to meet at Baton Rouge on the 23d of this month. You further did me the honor to desire the expression of my views to you on the subject. As it is one of general interest, I hope that you will give your sanction to the publicity of this address, which, otherwise, would only have been submitted to your private perusal.

It is, I know, the popular impression that the United States, in consideration of a certain sum of money paid to France for the purchase of Louisiana, acquired that province, with all the rights of unqualified, unconditional, and absolute property, in the same way that a cotton or sugar plantation is conveyed by one man to the other by a notorial act of sale. But a careful examination of that treaty of cession, with all the circumstances attending it, may somewhat modify that impression.

The United States, being informed of the retrocession of Louisiana to France by Spain, became extremely solicitous to obtain from that power the cession of New-Orleans, with a limited adjacent territory, but sufficient to give them egress to the Gulf of Mexico. At first Bonaparte, who was then the ruler of America, showed himself unfavorable to the attempted negotiation on the part of America. However, on the 10th of April, 1803, he said to his ministers: "I know the full value of Louisiana, and I have been desirous of repairing the faults of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1763. A few lines of a treaty have restored it to me, and I have hardly recovered it when I must expect to lose it. But if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me (meaning England, then the mistress of the seas,) to strip myself of it, than to those to whom I wish to deliver it." Notwithstanding the stern necessity to which his iron will felt compelled to bend, he still clung to the much-prized acquisition, and still hesitated.

But a few days later, he said to one of the members of his Council: "Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New-Orleans that I will cede; it is the whole colony, without reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object its recovery. I renounce it with the greatest regret." Then he added: "For a hundred years France and Spain have been incurring expenses for improvements in Louisiana, for which its trade has never indemnified them. Large sums, which will never be returned to the treasury, have been lent to companies and to agriculturists. The price of all these things is justly due to us. If I should regulate my terms according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale." The high personage to whom Bonaparte was addressing these words, and who was to be his negotiator with the American plenipotentiaries, made some general observations on the cession of the rights of sovereignty, and expressed his doubts as to whether the inhabitants of the territory could be the subject of a contract of sale or exchange. Bonaparte replied impatiently, with his usual abruptness: "You are giving me, in all its perfection, the ideology of the law of nature and of nations. But I require money to make war on the richest nation in the world. Send your maxims to the London market. I am sure that they will be greatly admired there, and yet no great attention is paid to them, when the question is the occupation of the finest regions of Asia." Notwithstanding this sarcastic remark, it will be seen that the minister's objection, which Bonaparte seemed to treat so slightly, sank in his mind, and that he subsequently provided for it in the treaty of cession. His sagacious intellect even anticipated another objection. "Perhaps," he continued, "it will also be objected that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations that are called perpetual only last till one of the contracting parties finds it to his interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy." That great man evidently

did not understand how a confederation of sovereign States could be maintained beyond the time when it would not be to the interest of any one of the parties to keep up the confederation, and much less when the majority became oppressive and tyrannical, and avowed the systematic design to wield the political power of the confederation with a view to a radical change in the fundamental principles on which it had been originally established. Hence, the fair presumption is, that if he had lived in our days, and had been a citizen of Louisiana, he would have been a secessionist.

Be it as it may—on the 30th of April, 1803, the First Consul (Bonaparte), acting in the name of the French Republic, ceded forever to the United States, in full sovereignty, the territory of Louisiana, on which occasion he sentimentously and prophetically said: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." What were the considerations of that treaty of cession, as expressed in the deed itself? Was it the payment of dollar and cents? No! The preamble says it was "the desire to remove all causes of misunderstanding relative to objects of discussion in relation to the rights claimed by the United States in virtue of a treaty between Spain and the United States, concerning the navigation of the Mississippi," and also that it was "the willingness to strengthen the union and the friendship which had been happily re-established between the two nations," after a disagreement which had almost dragged them into a war.

What says article 1 of the treaty? Does France cede Louisiana merely in consideration of the payment of a certain sum of money, as is done in all ordinary acts of sale and purchase? No; nothing of the kind is to be found in the body of the treaty of cession. Not one word of it! France expresses that she cedes Louisiana because "she desires to give to the United States a strong proof of her friendship." The French text says: *une preuve remarquable*, and truly a "remarkable proof" it was!

The Article 7 stipulates for some commercial advantages, reciprocally beneficial to the commerce of France, Spain, and the United States, and which are to last twelve years. That is all. Does all this sound like an ordinary act of sale?

After the treaty had been signed, and Louisiana ceded, France and the United States, "wishing to regulate definitely everything which had relation to said cession," entered into stipulations by which the government of the United States engaged to pay to the French government the sum of sixty millions of francs, independent of the sum which was to be fixed by another Convention for certain payments due by France to citizens of the United States.

Is it possible to read what precedes without coming to the conclusion that, in parting *regretfully* with Louisiana, the intention of the ruler of France was to make the best use of what he could not keep—that it was to strengthen the bonds of union between France and the United States, and to give them, as he took care to insert it in the treaty, "a remarkable proof his friendship;" and lastly, that it was his policy to increase the rising and growing power of the United States, so as to oppose a mighty rival, within a few years, to what he called "the colossal power of Great Britain." As to the pecuniary part of the transaction, it seems to have been designedly postponed and kept out of sight. It became the object of a second and separate convention after the first had been completed. It was considered with reason, by Bonaparte at least, as a "mere indemnity"—as a reimbursement of expenses incurred for the preservation and improvement of Louisiana, and a repayment of the large sums expended for its colonization, but not as the value of the thing transferred. "The price of all these things is justly due to us," observed Bonaparte. Wishing to give to the United States "a remarkable proof his friendship," and to invigorate them into being a worthy and efficient adversary to Great Britain, he determined, as it were, to donate what he could not keep; and he did not ask for the value of Louisiana, because, to use his own words, "the indemnity would have had no limits." Therefore, he insisted only on what he thought France was entitled to—a mere reimbursement of advances made—an indemnity for expenses incurred for improve-

ments in the colony. Was Louisiana sold as a common farm? Was it not ceded on the express stipulation of its being a remarkable testimonial of friendship? Setting aside the "letter which killeth and looking to the spirit which vivifieth," can this be regarded as a sale which was recorded as a testimonial of friendship, and for which no adequate equivalent was given? In the private transactions of life, when a thing is transferred for a price far inferior to its value, it may be called a sale, because it assumes that form; but it is in reality a disguised donation, particularly if it is stipulated in the deed that it is meant as an evidence of love, which is desired to be strengthened and perpetuated. Thus, in the case of the acquisition of Louisiana, the term "purchase," according to its common significance, in commercial language, is misapplied. It is, to be sure, a cession of the province; and if it is not strictly a donation, it must be conceded that it is not strictly a sale. Many would even think that it partakes more of the nature of the former than of the latter.

But in support of this view of the question, there is a stronger point to present to your consideration. It is worthy of remark that, mindful of the objection which had been made to him by his minister about the right of *selling souls*, and which, apparently, had been scornfully received, as I have already stated, Bonaparte, according to the historical declaration of that same minister, (Barbier Marbois), "prepared himself," the third article of the treaty of cession, which runs thus:

"The inhabitants of the said territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

Was this selling Louisiana? Was this selling the Louisianians like cattle or other chattels? Were they becoming the property of the United States, to be disposed of as they pleased? Did the United States acquire an unqualified and unrestrained sovereignty over them? Could the United States resell Louisiana? No. It is evident that, by the treaty, France, through Bonaparte, made it imperative on the United States to invest the Louisianians with the same sovereignty, to its full extent, which was possessed by their own citizens. The Louisianians were to be "incorporated in the Union as soon as possible." How could they be incorporated in a Union of sovereign States, except by becoming the citizens of a State or States? Therefore the cession of Louisiana, which is commonly called a sale, was nothing else than the annexation of that province to the United States, either as a State or as divided into several States, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, among which stands prominently the principle of equality among the members of the confederation. That this was the understanding of Bonaparte, is evident from the words which he uttered immediately after he had signed the treaty. He said, to the minister who had negotiated for him: "Let the Louisianians know that we separate ourselves from them with regret; that we stipulate in their favor everything that they can desire; and let them, hereafter, *happy in their independence*, recollect that they have been Frenchmen, and that France, in ceding them, has secured for them advantages which they would not have obtained from any European power, however paternal it might have been. Let them retain for us sentiments of affection; and may their common origin, descent, language, and customs, perpetuate the friendship."

Thus, he prided himself on having secured the independence of the Louisianians. How could that independence be obtained except by immediate annexation? We could not have been *independent* while the inhabitants of a Territory of the United States, and therefore dependent on them, no more than we could have been independent while remaining the inhabitants of a colony. While the Louisianians were to remain in a transitory condition—while they were the inhabitants of a United States territory—while they were incapable of protecting themselves—before their being invested with that sovereignty which became



their birth-right, by an express stipulation recognized as the supreme law of the land—while they were, to some extent, dependent on the United States—"en attendant"—(the words of the French text)—while they were waiting for their independence and their incorporation into the Union, France took special care to demand the guarantee that they should be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they professed. Were they sold, then, to the United States, according to the common acceptance of the word and the popular impression? Was it because the United States agreed to pay to France a certain sum of money which was a mere reimbursement of all her expenses in her former colony? As well might it be said that Texas sold herself to the United States because she stipulated the payment of a certain sum of money as a condition of her incorporation into the Union.

As long as Louisiana remained a territory, if its inhabitants had been robbed of any of their existing rights, if they had been oppressed in their persons and attacked in their property and religion, France, who, in virtue of the treaty of cession, had retained a right of supervision over the destinies of her former colony, would undoubtedly have had the right to interfere. But as soon as Louisiana was incorporated into the Union as a sovereign State, the protective stipulation on the part of France ceased, because Louisiana was hereafter to look to herself for protection. The act of Congress authorizing the territory of Orleans, which had been carved out of the province of Louisiana, to form a State constitution, was not a voluntary, spontaneous, and independent act, originating in the liberality or munificence of that body. It was no boon, no gift, no grant from the United States; it was simply the execution of the treaty of cession—the accomplishment of the generous will of France. It is therefore to the treaty of cession that Louisiana is to look back for her sovereignty, and not to the United States, who had merely bound themselves to accept that sovereignty, and to carry it into effect. If A cedes to B all his rights of property in a slave, and stipulates that B shall emancipate that slave as soon as possible, the act by which B emancipates that slave is really the act of A, and it is to A that the slave is indebted for emancipation, and not to B. Thus, the act by which the United States incorporated Louisiana into the Union being prescribed by France, and being an unavoidable obligation on the part of the United States, was in reality the act of France. The United States were a mere ministerial agent chosen by France to secure that independence which she instructed her minister to inform the Louisianians that she had provided for them.

In support of the correctness of my views, I beg, dear sir, to refer you to the debates in Congress on the discussion of the bill providing for the carrying into effect the treaty of cession. Mr. Pickering, of Massachusetts, opposed it in the Senate, on the ground of its unconstitutionality. Alluding to the third article of the treaty, he said, that it "stipulated the admission of a foreign country as an associate in the Union." He added, "I have never doubted the right of the United States to acquire new territory, either by purchase or conquest, and to govern the territory so acquired as a dependent province." But he denied that such was the case with Louisiana. He maintained, justly, that she was acquired as a State to which had been secured the right of independence and self-government, and not as a "dependent province." He further said, "that if the United States failed to execute, within a reasonable time, the engagement assumed in the third article, the French government would have the right to declare the whole treaty null and void."

Mr. Tracy, of Connecticut, followed in the wake of Mr. Pickering. He considered that the United States had acquired a State and not a territory. "If done at all," he said, "it must be done by universal consent of all the States, or partners of our political association; and this universal consent, I am positive, can never be obtained to such a pernicious measure as the admission of Louisiana, of a world—and such a world!—into our Union. This would be absorbing the Northern States, and rendering them as insignificant in the Union as they ought to be, if by their own consent the new measure should be adopted." Northern insignificance! I avail myself of this opportunity to call your attention, by the way, to this apprehension of Northern insignificance, and Northern

decline, compared with Southern importance and Southern prosperity, as one of the secret springs of that deadly hostility and jealousy entertained by one section against the other.

The whole drift of Mr. Adams' argument on the subject shows that he also thought that Louisiana was not acquired as a dependent province. Mr. Griswold, of Connecticut, said in the House: "It is clear that it was intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the ceded territory in the Union by the treaty itself, or to pledge the faith of the nation that such an incorporation should take place within a reasonable time." He complained that it was the admission of a new partner in a firm without the consent of all the parties. "It was the incorporation of a *foreign nation* into the Union; it destroyed the perfect Union contemplated between the original parties, by interposing an alien and a stranger to *share the powers of government with them.*" He lamented that "a new world was to be thrown into the scale to weigh down the influence which the Northern States might otherwise possess in the national councils." The other speakers on this side of the question, traveling over the same ground, and paraphrasing the same arguments, asserted that if the United States could acquire territory, it was not to make it a part of the Confederacy as a State, but to hold it as a colony forever, or as a sort of subordinate dependency. ("Gayarre's History of Louisiana," vol. 3.)

"It has been said," observed one of the speakers, "that the treaty does not in fact incorporate the people of the ceded territory into the Union; but stipulates that they shall be incorporated and admitted according to the principles of the federal Constitution: or, in other words, the treaty only pledges the faith of the nation that such an incorporation shall take place. On this point I will observe that there is no difference in principle between a direct incorporation by the words of a treaty, and a stipulation that an incorporation shall take place, because if the faith of the nation is pledged in the latter case, the incorporation must take place, and it is of no consequence whether the treaty gives the incorporation, or produces the law which gives it."

Those on the other side, who thought that the United States had the constitutional power to acquire Louisiana according to the stipulations of the treaty, did not differ, at least most of them, with their adversaries, as to the interpretation put on the third article. The paradoxical John Randolph, of Roanoke, was the only one who, as far as I am aware, interpreted the treaty with his characteristic eccentricity. He maintained that, by the third article, the Louisianians had only become entitled to the blessings of jury trial, liberty of conscience, and a few other rights and immunities. But this construction of the treaty is evidently so erroneous that it scarcely deserves refutation, notwithstanding the respect due to the memory of its distinguished author.

From what precedes, it seems demonstrated that the treaty of cession had created the State of Louisiana, and opened to her the doors of admission into the Union. The United States had no discretionary power left them to reject their new associate, and to do aught beyond the arrangement of those formalities which were to attend her introduction into the bosom of their great sisterhood of sovereignties. It was not a dependent territory which they acquired, it was a State, or States. France had created the sovereignty of Louisiana, with the assent of the United States, who had assumed the merely ceremonial part of giving away the emblematic sceptre and the crown. But the pontiff who anoints the brows of royalty, only consecrates what already exists. Thus the act of Congress, passed in 1811, to authorize the territory of Orleans to form a constitution and a State government, and to enable it to be admitted into the Union on "an equal footing with the original States," was merely the discharge of an obligation, and only the evidence, the recognition, the consecration of the sovereignty already secured to Louisiana. That colony, I say, became a sovereign and independent State by the fiat of France, with the assent of the United States, as completely as the thirteen colonies of Great Britain had acquired their independence by their own achievements, backed by the assistance of that noble ally; and on the day of the admission of Louisiana into the Union, it was necessarily assumed that she also delegated, like the original States, those

powers which the federal government was to exercise for the benefit of the whole confederacy, and it necessarily followed that she could not have received from that federal government those which she retained. In that respect, she must accept no inferiority to the original States. She was not created by them, but incorporated into them, according to the principles of the federal Constitution, in virtue of the stipulation of a benignant parent who emancipated her, and set her free forever from any human vassalage.

Now, it seems evident to my mind that the Constitution which became binding upon Louisiana on the day of her adoption, no more and no less than upon the original States, having been set aside by some of the contracting parties, in the name of a higher law invoked by them; that the equality of Louisiana in the Union having been disregarded; that her rights as one of its members having been trampled upon; that the property and lives of her citizens being put in peril by the action of a majority of her partners in the confederacy; that the Union itself being dissolved by systematic violations of the Constitution, and by the secession of one or more States, the sovereignty possessed by France in Louisiana, and transferred to the United States and to Louisiana herself on her incorporation into them, reverts in full to Louisiana and to the other States which were formed out of her territory, as soon as the United States no longer exist, according to the principles of the federal Constitution, and the stipulations, the sense and spirit of the original compact. The sovereignty which emanated from the treaty of 1803, and which has been exercised since 1812, with the exception of certain delegated powers, cannot perish, and must sit forever enthroned in Louisiana, whether the Union survives the present crisis, or is torn into premature destruction. Sovereignty once acquired cannot be lost, except by complete and permanent subjugation, or by voluntary abdication.

Hoping that these crude remarks may be suggestive to your enlightened mind, of thoughts more worthy of the subject, and more conducive to the facilitation of your labors in the Convention, I remain, with much respect, &c.,

CHARLES GAYARRÉ.

### 3.—INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS, DELIVERED AT THE CAPITOL, MONDAY, FEB. 18, 1861, AT 1 O'CLOCK, P. M.

*Gentlemen of the Congress of the Confederate States  
of America; Friends and Fellow-Citizens:*

Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned to me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people.

Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent Government to take the place of this, and which, by its greater moral and physical power, will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office, to which I have been chosen, with the hope that the beginning of our career, as a Confederacy, may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and, with the blessing of Providence, intend to maintain. Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established.

The declared purpose of the compact of Union from which we have withdrawn, was "to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity;" and when, in the judgment of the sovereign States now

composing this Confederacy, it had been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and had ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box, declared, that so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 had defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion for its exercise, they, as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and He, who knows the hearts of men, will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit. The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, and which has been affirmed and re-affirmed in the Bills of rights of States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States, here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy, and it is by abuse of language that their act has been denominated a revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained, and the rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent, through whom they communicated with foreign nations, is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations.

Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of just obligations, or any failure to perform any constitutional duty—moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others—anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of defence which honor and security may require.

An agricultural people—whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country—our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest, and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the North-eastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that a mutual interest would invite good will and kind offices. If, however, passion or the lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and to maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth. We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. Through many years of controversy, with our late associates, the Northern States, we have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity, and to obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth, our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us, peaceably, to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But, if this be denied to us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us, with firm resolve, to appeal to arms, and invoke the blessings of Providence on a just cause.

As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide for the speedy and efficient organization of branches of the Executive Department, having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and the postal service.

For purposes of defence, the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon their militia, but it is deemed advisable, in the pres-

ent condition of affairs, that there should be a well-instructed and disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that, for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have doubtless engaged the attention of Congress.

With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers, in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from the sectional conflicts which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that States, from which we have recently parted, may seek to unite their fortunes with ours under the government which we have instituted. For this your Constitution makes adequate provision; but beyond this, if I mistake not the judgment and will of the people, a re-union with the States from which we have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the Confederacy, it is requisite that there should be so much of homogeneity that the welfare of every portion shall be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

Actuated solely by the desire to preserve our own rights and promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check—the cultivation of our fields has progressed as heretofore—and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, and in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of the producer and consumer, can only be interrupted by an exterior force, which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets—a course of conduct which would be as unjust toward us as it would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad. Should reason guide the action of the Government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even the strongest desire to inflict injury upon us; but if otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the mean time, there will remain to us, besides the ordinary means before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy.

Experience in public stations, of subordinate grade to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that care, and toil, and disappointment, are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate, but you shall not find in me either a want of zeal or fidelity to the cause, that is to me highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction; one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duty required at my hands.

We have changed the constituent parts but not the system of our government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States, in their exposition of it; and, in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning.

Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of the instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope, by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectations, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good will and confidence which welcomed my entrance into office.

It is joyous, in the midst of perilous times, to look around upon a people united in heart, where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole—where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, and right, and liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, they cannot long prevent, the progress of a movement sanctified by its justice, and sustained



by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles, which, by his blessing, they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity, and with a continuance of His favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, and to prosperity.\*

#### 4.—CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

THE new and permanent Constitution which has been adopted for the Confederate States will, without a doubt, be adopted with the greatest promptness by each of them. We shall advert to the leading particulars in what it differs from the old Constitution of the United States.

The preamble declares the Constitution to be adopted by the STATES, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character.

In the *delegation* of powers to Congress, that word is used instead of "granted."

No one but a citizen of the Confederate States is allowed to vote for any of its officers. This cuts off the old practice of allowing aliens to vote, because entitled to vote in state elections; which is generally the case in the northwest.

Seven years citizenship is not required for a member of Congress.

Federal Judicial officers, acting solely within a State, may be impeached by its legislature.

Members of the cabinet may be admitted by Congress to a seat, with the privilege of discussing measures appertaining to their departments.

The President may veto any portion of an appropriation bill and leave the rest.

The *protective system* receives its quietus thus:

"The Congress shall have power—

"1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defence, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States."

So of the *Internal Department system*:

"Neither this nor any other clause contained in the Constitution shall ever be construed to delegate the power to Congress to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce; except for the purpose of furnishing lights, beacons, and buoys, and other aids to navigation upon the coasts, and the improvement of harbors, and the removing of obstructions in river navigation, in all which cases such duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated thereby, as may be necessary to pay the cost and expenses thereof."

A general bankrupt act shall *not* discharge antecedent debts.

The importation of Africans is forbidden, except from the United States, and Congress may even prohibit the introduction of slaves from these States.

An export duty may be levied, but only by a two-third vote of Congress.

The Post Office system shall be self-sustaining after the 1st March, 1863.

The following are additions to the old Constitution:

"Congress shall appropriate no money from the treasury, except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, unless it be asked and estimated for by some one of the heads of department, and submitted to Congress by the President; or for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies; or for the payment of claims against the Confederate States, the justice of which shall have been judicially declared by a tribunal for the investigation of claims against the government, which it is hereby made the duty of Congress to establish.

"All bills appropriating money shall specify in Federal currency the exact amount of each appropriation, and the purposes for which it is made; and Congress shall grant no extra compensation to any public contractor, officer, agent, or servant, after such contract shall have been made, or such service rendered."

The enumeration of population shall be made within three years, after the first meeting of Congress, and within every subsequent ten years. The representative number is fixed at not more than 50,000. Three-fifths of slaves as before are represented. Until a new apportionment the members are fixed for the House :

S. Carolina.....	6
Georgia.....	10
Alabama.....	9
Florida.....	2
Mississippi.....	7
Louisiana.....	6
Texas.....	6

A seat of government not more than ten miles square may be acquired, with the exclusive power of legislation over it.

The following changes the old law :

Section 10, paragraph 3d, is an amendment of the old Constitution : "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, except on sea-going vessels, for the improvement of its rivers and harbors, navigated by the said vessels ; but such duties shall not conflict with any treaties of the Confederate States with foreign nations ; and any surplus of revenue, thus derived, shall, after making such improvement, be paid into the common treasury ; nor shall any State keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

The Presidential and Vice-Presidential term is raised to six years, without re-eligibility.

No person except a natural born citizen of the Confederate States, or a citizen thereof at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, or a citizen thereof, born in the United States, prior to the 20th of December, 1860, shall be eligible to the office of President ; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the limits of the Confederate States, as they may exist at the time of his election.

The power of removal, except as to the cabinet and diplomatic service, can only be exercised by the President, on showing *good cause*, which the Senate shall consider. This cuts off effectually party proscription, the curse of our country.

Citizens shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State with their *slaves*, etc., without molestation.

New States may be admitted on a vote of two-thirds of the whole of the Senate and House.

The right of slavery is recognized in all new territories, and must be protected by Congress, and "*slaves*" may be taken there.

Amendments to the Constitution may be made on the application of three States, through their conventions—if adopted by a general convention which Congress shall then call, and afterwards by two-thirds of all the State Legislatures ; but no State's senatorial representation can be changed without its consent.

The ratification of the Conventions of five States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

When five States shall have ratified this Constitution, in the manner before specified, the Congress, under the Provisional Constitution, shall prescribe the time for holding the election of President and Vice-President ; and for the meeting of the Electoral College ; and for counting the votes and inaugurating the President. They shall also prescribe the time for holding the first election of members of Congress under this Constitution, and the time for assembling the

same. Until the assembling of such Congress, the Congress under the Provisional Constitution shall continue to exercise the legislative powers granted them; not extending beyond the time limited by the Constitution of the Provisional Government.

#### 5.—CONFEDERACY FLAG.

The Committee, rejecting all of the models presented to them, adopted a flag of their own suggestion, which they claim possesses advantages over all the others. Mr. Miles, the chairman, says, in his report:

"As to 'the glories of the old flag,' we must bear in mind that the battles of the Revolution, about which our fondest and proudest memories cluster, were not fought beneath its folds. And, although in more recent times—in the war of 1812, and in the war with Mexico—the South did win her fair share of glory, and shed her full measure of blood under its guidance and in its defence, we think the impartial page of history will preserve and commemorate the fact more imperishable than a mere piece of striped bunting.

"When the colonies achieved their independence of the mother country, (which, up to the last, they fondly called her,) they did not desire to retain the British flag, or anything at all similar to it. Yet, under that flag, they had been planted, and nurtured, and fostered. Under that flag they had fought, in their infancy, for their very existence against more than one determined foe. Under it they had repelled and driven back the relentless savage, and carried it further and further into the decreasing wilderness, as the standard of civilization and religion. Under it, the youthful Washington won his spurs in the memorable and unfortunate expedition of Braddock, and Americans helped to plant it on the heights of Abraham, where the immortal Wolfe fell covered with glory in the arms of victory. But our forefathers, when they separated themselves from Great Britain—a separation not on account of their hatred to the English Constitution, or of the English institutions, but in consequence of the tyrannical and unconstitutional rule of Lord North's administration, and because their destiny beckoned them on to independent expansion and achievement—cast no lingering, regretful looks behind. They were proud of their race and lineage, proud of their heritage in the glories and genius and language of old England, but they were influenced by the spirit of the motto of the great Hampden—'*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*.' They were determined to build up a new power among the nations of the world. They therefore did not attempt 'to keep the old flag.' We think it good to imitate them in this comparatively little matter, as well as to emulate them in greater and more important ones.

"The flag is very easy to make. It is entirely different from any national flag. The three colors of which it is composed, red, white, and blue, are the true Republican colors. In heraldry they are emblematic of the three great virtues, of valor, purity, and truth. Naval men assure us that it can be recognized and distinguished at a great distance. The colors contrast admirably, and are lasting. In effect and appearance it must speak for itself.

"Your committee, therefore, recommend that the flag of the Confederate States of America shall consist of a red field with a white space extending horizontally through the centre, and equal in width to one-third the width of the flag, the red spaces above and below to be of the same width as the white. The union blue extending down through the white space and stopping at the lower red space. In the centre of the union a circle of white stars, corresponding in number with the States in the Confederacy."

#### 6.—CONFEDERACY LOAN.

"*Sec. 1.* The Congress of the Confederate States do enact, That the President of the Confederate States be, and he is hereby authorized, at any time within twelve months after the passage of this act, to borrow, on the credit of the Confederate States, a sum not exceeding fifteen millions of dollars, or so much thereof as in his opinion the exigencies of the public service may require, to be applied

to the payment of appropriations made by law for the support of the government and for the defences of the Confederate States.

"2. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized, by the consent of the President of the Confederate States, to cause to be prepared certificates of stock or bonds, in such sums as are hereinafter mentioned, for the amount to be borrowed as aforesaid, to be signed by the Register of the Treasury, and sealed with the seal of the Treasury; and the said certificates of stocks or bonds shall be made payable at the expiration of ten years from the first day of September next; and the interest thereon shall be paid semi-annually, at the rate of eight per cent. per annum, at the Treasury, and such other places as the Secretary of the Treasury may designate. And to the bonds which shall be issued, as aforesaid, shall be attached coupons for the semi-annual interest which shall accrue, which coupons may be signed by officers to be appointed for the purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury. And the faith of the Confederate States is hereby pledged for the due payment of the principal and interest of the said stock and bonds.

"3. At the expiration of five years, from the first day of September next, the Confederate States may pay up any portion of the bonds or stocks, upon giving three months *previous public* notice, at the seat of government, of the particular stocks or bonds to be paid, and the time and place of payment; and from and after the time so appointed, no further interest shall be paid on said stock or bonds.

"4. The certificates of stock and bonds shall be issued in such form and for such amounts as may be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, and may be assigned or delivered under such regulations as he may establish. But none of them shall be for a less sum than fifty dollars; and he shall report to Congress at its next session a statement in detail of his proceedings, and the rate at which the loans may have been made, and all expenses attending the same.

"5. From and after the first day of August, 1861, there shall be levied, collected and paid a duty of one-eighth of one cent. per pound on all cotton in the raw state exported from the Confederate States, which duty is hereby specially pledged to the due payment of interest and principal of the loan provided for in this act; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required to establish a sinking fund to carry into effect the provisions of this section; provided, however, that the interest coupons, issued under the second section of this act; when due, shall be receivable in payment of the export duty on cotton; provided, also, that when the debts and interest thereon herein authorized to be contracted, shall be extinguished, or the sinking fund provided for that purpose shall be adequate to that end, the said export duty shall cease and determine."

The annexed act was also passed in secret session, and the secrecy removed.

#### 7.—TONNAGE DUTIES.

The Congress of the Confederate States do enact, That all laws which forbid the employment, in the coasting trade, of ships or vessels not enrolled or licensed, and also all laws which forbid the importation of goods wares or merchandise, from one port of the Confederate States to another port of the Confederate States, or from any foreign port or place, in a vessel belonging wholly or in part to a subject or citizen of any foreign State or power, are hereby repealed.

"All laws which impose any discriminating duties on the tonnage of ships or vessels owned by any subject or citizen of any foreign State or power, or upon goods, wares, or merchandise imported in any such ship or vessel, are hereby repealed."

Applications for patents may be made to the Attorney General.

Vessels owned in one-fourth part by a citizen of the Confederacy, and commanded by citizens thereof, shall be registered as a vessel thereof, if desired, and there be no registry anywhere else.

## 8.—RATES OF POSTAGE IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

The following is a statement of the rates of postage under the act of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, adopted on the 21st ult., to go into effect from and after such date as the Postmaster-General may decide upon:

**RATES OF POSTAGE BETWEEN PLACES WITHIN THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.**—*On Letters.*—Single letters not exceeding a half ounce in weight—for any distance under 500 miles, 5 cents; for any distance over 500 miles, 10 cents; an additional single rate for each additional half ounce or less. Drop letters, 2 cents each; in the foregoing case, the postage to be prepaid by stamps or stamped envelopes. Advertised letters, 2 cents each.

*On Packages.*—Containing other than printed or written matter—money packages are included in this class—to be rated by weight as letters are rated, and to be charged double the rates of postage on letters, to wit: For any distance under 500 miles, 10 cents for each half ounce or less; for any distance over 500 miles, 20 cents for each half ounce or less; in all cases to be prepaid by stamps or stamped envelopes.

*On Newspapers* sent to regular and *bona fide* subscribers from the office of publication, and not exceeding 3 ounces in weight:

*Within the State where Published.*—Weekly paper, 6½ cents per quarter; semi-weekly paper, 13 cents per quarter; tri-weekly paper, 19½ cents per quarter; daily paper, 39 cents per quarter. In all cases, the postage to be paid quarterly in advance at the offices of the subscribers.

*Without the State where Published.*—Weekly paper, 13 cents per quarter; semi-weekly paper, 26 cents per quarter; tri-weekly paper, 39 cents per quarter; daily paper, 78 cents per quarter. In all cases, the postage to be paid quarterly in advance at the office of the subscribers.

*On Periodicals* sent to regular and *bona fide* subscribers from the office of publication, and not exceeding 1½ ounces in weight:

*Within the State where Published.*—Monthly, 3 cents per quarter, or 1 cent for each number; semi-monthly, 6 cents per quarter, or 1 cent for each number—an additional cent each number for every additional ounce or less, beyond the first 1½ ounce; bi-monthly or quarterly, 1 cent an ounce. In all cases, the postage to be paid quarterly in advance at the offices of subscribers.

*Without the State where Published.*—Not exceeding 1½ ounce in weight:

Monthly, 6 cents per quarter, or 2 cents for each number. Semi-monthly, 12 cents per quarter, or 2 cents for each number. 2 cents additional for every additional ounce or less, beyond the first 1½ ounce. Bi-monthly or quarterly, 2 cents an ounce. In all cases, the postage to be paid quarterly in advance at the offices of the subscribers.

*On Transient Printed Matter.*—Every other newspaper, pamphlet, periodical, and magazine, each circular not sealed, hand-bill, and engraving, not exceeding 3 ounces in weight, 2 cents for any distance; 2 cents additional for each additional ounce or less beyond the first 3 ounces. In all cases the postage to be prepaid by stamps or stamped envelopes.

*Franking Privilege.*—The following persons only are entitled to the franking privilege, and in all cases to be confined strictly to official business: Postmaster-general, his chief clerk, auditor of the treasury for the Post-office Department, and deputy postmasters.

## 9.—ARMY OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

The military establishment of the Confederate States shall be composed of one corps of engineers; one corps of artillery: six regiments of infantry; one regiment of cavalry, and of the staff department already established by law.

Pay of the brigadier-general, \$3,612; of colonels, from \$195 to \$210 per month; of majors, from \$150 to \$162; of captains, \$180 to \$140; of lieutenants, \$80 to \$90; privates, \$11 to \$12. Extra pay to commissioned officers after five years' service. Forage, fuel, travelling expenses, and quarters when under orders, not included with the above, but allowed extra.



Below is a tabular statement of the number and grade of officers and men:

	Engineer Corps.	Artillery.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Total.
Colonels.....	1.....	1.....	6.....	1.....	9
Lieutenant-Colonels.....	0.....	1.....	6.....	1.....	8
Majors.....	4.....	10.....	6.....	1.....	21
Number of Companies.....	0.....	40.....	60.....	10.....	100
Captains.....	5.....	40.....	60.....	10.....	115
First-Lieutenants.....	0.....	80.....	60.....	10.....	160
Second-Lieutenants.....	0.....	40.....	120.....	20.....	180
Sergeants.....	10.....	160.....	240.....	40.....	450
Corporals.....	10.....	160.....	240.....	40.....	450
Privates.....	78.....	2800.....	5400.....	640.....	8878
Farriers.....	0.....	0.....	0.....	4.....	4
Blacksmiths.....	0.....	0.....	0.....	4.....	4
Musicians.....	2.....	80.....	240.....	20.....	342
Adjutants.....	0.....	1.....	6.....	1.....	8
Sergeant-Majors.....	0.....	1.....	6.....	1.....	8
Brigadier-Generals.....					4
Aids to Brigadier-Generals.....					4

The Staff Department consists of an adjutant and inspector general's department, subsistence and medical department, and quarter-master's department, with all the appropriate and usual officers, in addition to those mentioned above.

#### VOLUNTEER SERVICES.

"An act to raise provisional forces for the Confederate States of America, and for other purposes.

SECTION 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America, do enact, That* to enable the government of the Confederate States to maintain its jurisdiction on all questions of peace and war, and to provide for the public defence, the President be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to assume control of all military operations in every State, having reference to or connection with questions between said States, or any of them, and powers foreign to them.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted, That* the President is hereby authorized to receive from the several States, the arms and munitions of war which have been acquired from the United States, and which are now in the forts, arsenals, and navy yards of the said States, and all other arms and munitions which they may desire to turn over and make chargeable to this government.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted, That* the President be authorized to receive into the service of this government such forces now in the service of said States as may be tendered, or who may volunteer by consent of their State, in such numbers as he may require, for any time not less than twelve months, unless sooner discharged.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted, That* such forces may be received with their officers, by companies, battalions, or regiments, and when so received shall form a part of the provisional army of the Confederate States, according to the terms of their enlistment, and the President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of Congress, such general officer or officers for said forces as may be necessary for the service.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted, That* said forces, when received into the service of this government, shall have the same pay and allowances as may be provided by law for volunteers entering the service, or for the army of the Confederate States, and shall be subject to the same rules and government.

#### 10.—FREEDOM OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

The peaceful navigation of the Mississippi river is hereby declared free to the citizens of any of the States upon its borders, or upon the borders of its naviga-

ble tributaries ; and all ships, boats, or rafts, or vessels, may navigate the same under such regulations as may be established by authority of law, or under such police regulations as may be established by the States within their several jurisdictions.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, In case any ship, boat, or vessel, shall enter the waters of the said river, within the limits of the Confederate States, having on board any goods, wares, and merchandise, subject to the payment of duties, and the master, consignee, or owner shall desire to land the same for sale or otherwise, it shall be lawful to enter the said goods, wares, and merchandise at any port of entry, or to forward them under bond or seal, according to the regulations customary in such cases, when consigned to any port or place beyond the limits of this Confederacy, in the same manner as goods, wares, or merchandise regularly consigned to the said port; and on payment of the duties on said goods, to obtain a license from the collector to land the same at any point on the river ; and when goods, wares, or merchandise shall be entered as aforesaid, the owner, importer, or consignee shall be entitled to the benefit of drawback duties or warehousing the said goods, wares, and merchandise, as is provided by law, upon complying with all the laws and regulations which apply to cases of entry for drawback or warehousing respectively.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, When any such ship, boat, or vessel, having on board goods, wares, and merchandise subject to the payment of duties as set forth in the fourth section, shall arrive at the first port of her entry of the Confederate States, the master or person in command of such ship, boat, or vessel shall, before he passes the said port, and immediately after his arrival, deposit with the collector a manifest of the cargo on board subject to the payment of duties ; and the said collector shall, after registering the same, transmit it, duly certified to have been deposited, to the officer with whom the entries are to be made ; and the said collector may, if he judge it necessary for the security of the revenue, put an inspector of the customs on board any such ship, boat, or vessel, to accompany the same until her arrival at the first port of entry to which her cargo may be consigned ; and if the master or person in command shall omit to deposit a manifest, as aforesaid, or refuse to receive such inspector on board, he shall forfeit and pay \$500, with cost of suit, one half to the use of the officer with whom the manifest should have been deposited, and the other half to the use of the collector of the district to which the vessel was bound, provided, however, that until ports of entry shall be established above the city of Vicksburg on the Mississippi river, the penalties of this act shall not extend to delivery of goods above that port by vessels or boats descending that river.

## DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

## 1.—UNITED STATES STATISTICS FOR TEN YEARS.

The production of gold in this country, from 1790 to 1850, in the aggregate, did not exceed twenty millions of dollars. Now we find by the official report, that up to June 30, 1860 (the end of the fiscal year), the product of domestic gold alone has been over four hundred and eighty-nine millions of dollars, deposited as follows, in addition to large sums exported coastwise, without entry at the Custom House :

Philadelphia Mint.....	\$239,353,519 74
San Francisco Mint.....	117,961,611 56
New-Orleans Mint.....	22,383,394 83
Charlotte Mint.....	5,003,016 84
Dahlonaga Mint.....	6,005,720 90
Assay Office, New-York.....	98,554,956 34
<b>Total Gold.....</b>	<b>\$489,312,520 21</b>
<b>Add Silver.....</b>	<b>8,584,165 38</b>
<b>Total Gold and Silver.....</b>	<b>\$497,896,685 59</b>

The coinage of foreign and domestic gold and silver, from the year 1793 to 1860, was \$713,200,014; while, for ten years past, it was \$518,442,196. For fifty-three previous years, \$194,757,818. This progress is shown as follows :

Ten Years.	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
1851.....	\$62,614,492	\$774,397	\$836,999
1852.....	56,846,187	999,410	57,845,597
1853.....	55,213,906	9,077,571	64,291,477
1854.....	52,094,596	8,619,270	60,713,865
1855.....	41,169,557	2,809,745	44,069,302
1856.....	58,936,893	5,347,070	64,283,963
1857.....	48,437,964	3,375,608	51,813,572
1858.....	51,841,433	9,028,531	60,869,965
1859.....	19,777,418	4,698,220	24,475,638
1860.....	23,447,283	3,250,636	26,697,919
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$470,376,730</b>	<b>\$48,065,466</b>	<b>\$518,442,196</b>

The exports of domestic products to foreign countries, in the past ten years, have approached three thousand millions of dollars—commencing in 1850-51 with about two hundred millions, and going up, in 1859-60, to nearly double that sum. This progress is indicated by the following table, with the imports for consumption :

	Imports for consump- tion.	Exports of specie and bullion.	Domestic exports, inclu- ding specie and bullion exp'ts.
1851.....	\$205,929,511	\$29,472,252	\$218,387,511
1852.....	200,577,739	42,674,135	209,658,866
1853.....	255,272,740	27,486,875	230,976,157
1854.....	282,914,077	41,436,456	278,241,064
1855.....	235,310,152	56,247,343	275,156,546
1856.....	299,858,570	45,745,485	326,964,908
1857.....	345,973,724	69,136,923	362,960,683
1858.....	261,952,909	52,638,147	324,644,421
1859.....	324,258,421	63,887,411	342,279,491
1860.....	335,230,919	66,546,239	382,788,662
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$2,747,279,092</b>	<b>\$495,266,265</b>	<b>\$3,952,065,103</b>

Thus we have exported nearly five hundred millions of gold and silver to meet balances of our foreign trade, without impoverishing our own people, but at the same time adding to the quantities on hand among the banks and among the people.

The tonnage of the United States now exceeds five millions of tons, viz :

	Tons.
Registered Sail Tonnage.....	2,448,941
Registered Steam Tonnage.....	97,396
Enrolled and Licensed Sail Tonnage.....	2,036,990
Enrolled and Licensed Steam Tonnage.....	770,641
Total, June 30, 1860.....	5,353,868

Ten years ago it was much less than four millions. We will give the amount for the year, with the aggregate at the close of each decade of the century :

Years.	Sail.	Steam.	Total.
1810.....	1,424,784	.....	1,424,784
1820.....	1,280,167	.....	1,280,167
1830.....	1,127,694	64,472	1,191,776
1840.....	1,978,425	202,839	2,180,764
1850.....	3,009,607	525,484	3,535,454
1860.....	4,485,981	867,937	5,453,868

Here we see the rapid advances of the past ten or twenty years. In order to carry on the public business with satisfaction, Congress has spent, in the past ten years, more than sixteen millions of dollars in the construction of Custom Houses, Court Houses, Post Offices, &c., viz.:

#### EXPENDED FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN TEN YEARS.

1850.....to.....1851.....	\$453,365
1851.....to.....1852.....	572,124
1852.....to.....1853.....	650,929
1853.....to.....1854.....	1,293,907
1854.....to.....1855.....	2,044,402
1855.....to.....1856.....	2,213,896
1856.....to.....1857.....	3,250,429
1857.....to.....1858.....	2,002,014
1858.....to.....1859.....	1,871,316
1859.....to.....1860.....	894,003
Total, ten years.....	\$16,145,885

The Custom House duties amount, on the average, to the small sum of two dollars per head, annually—a burden not to be named. It falls not upon the poor, except in the single item of sugar, where the country pays six millions annually in order to sustain the domestic product in Louisiana. The whole duties amounted, in the last year, to fifty-three millions of dollars.

Our commerce with Canada, under liberal legislation, has nearly doubled within the past nine years. The following is an official statement, exhibiting the exports to, and the imports from, Canada and other British possessions in North America, from the 1st day of July, 1851, to the 30th day of June, 1860 :

Years ending.	Exports.	Imports.
June 30, 1852.....	\$10,509,016	\$6,110,299
“ 1853.....	13,140,642	7,550,718
“ 1854.....	24,566,860	8,927,500
“ 1855.....	27,806,020	15,136,734
“ 1856.....	29,029,349	21,310,421
“ 1857.....	24,262,483	22,124,296
“ 1858.....	23,651,727	15,806,519
“ 1859.....	28,154,174	19,727,551
“ 1860.....	14,183,114	18,861,673
	\$195,303,384	\$135,553,671

In order to carry on the extensive commerce of the United States with foreign nations, an expense of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars is incurred, viz :

Salaries paid to 133 Consular officers for the year.....	\$263,206	
Fees returned by them during the same period.....		\$110,996
Deficit paid by the Treasurer of the United States.....		152,310
		<hr/> \$263,206

It is curious to go back to the early periods of the century, when the duties were not one sixth of this sum. We will revert to those years, and to each year since 1850. The government expenditures have increased from twenty-three millions, in the so-called extravagant days of John Quincy Adams, to seventy or eighty millions at present, in time of peace. The duties collected, and government expenditures, have progressed as follow :

Year.	Customs.	Government Expenditures.
1800.....	\$3,090,932	\$11,869,740
1810.....	5,633,510	13,819,956
1820.....	15,008,613	21,765,924
1830.....	21,922,591	24,535,281
1840.....	15,499,502	28,226,533
1850-'51.....	49,017,567	48,476,104
1851-'52.....	47,339,326	46,712,609
1852-'53.....	58,931,805	54,677,061
1853-'54.....	64,224,190	70,473,119
1854-'55.....	53,025,794	66,194,775
1855-'56.....	64,022,863	72,726,541
1856-'57.....	63,875,905	71,274,587
1857-'58.....	41,789,620	82,062,133
1858-'59.....	40,565,324	83,678,642
1859-'60.....	53,187,511	77,055,125

Since the year 1800 the government has realized the enormous sum of one hundred and seventy-four millions of dollars from the sales of public lands. The quantities on hand will probably realize as much, if not more, during the present century. In the past ten years only, these sales were forty-five millions of dollars, and in two years only (1835-'36, following the expansion of paper money which succeeded the extinguishment of the Bank of the United States,) these sales realized THIRTY-EIGHT MILLIONS OF DOLLARS! Then the sales were mainly speculative; now they are for actual occupation. The sales of the last ten years have been as follows :

1851.....	\$2,352,305	1857.....	\$3,829,486
1852.....	2,043,259	1858.....	3,513,715
1853.....	1,667,084	1859.....	1,756,687
1854.....	8,470,798	1860.....	1,775,557
1855.....	11,497,049		
1856.....	8,917,644		
		Total, 54 years.....	\$174,947,802

All these figures sink into insignificance when we compare them with the yearly product of the sea, the forest, agriculture, tobacco, cotton, and manufactures. We submit the comparative results of exports to foreign countries, without reference to the coasting trade.

Product of	1850.	1860.	Tot. 14 years.
The Sea.....	\$2,824,818	\$4,156,480	\$45,489,946
Forest.....	7,442,593	13,738,559	141,504,708
Agriculture.....	96,547,153	48,451,894	661,018,006
Tobacco.....	9,051,023	15,906,547	172,319,772
Cotton.....	74,984,616	191,806,555	1,439,859,591
Manufactures.....	15,193,451	89,808,080	851,747,246
Raw Produce.....	953,064	2,279,308	23,107,594
Specie.....	2,046,679	56,946,851	458,087,554
Total.....	\$126,943,912	\$373,189,274	\$3,308,144,607

In the forty years (1821-1860) the single article of cotton exported from the United States to foreign countries has produced the enormous sum of \$2,574,-834,000—say twenty-five hundred and seventy-four millions of dollars.



## 2.—COTTON STATEMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

*Statement of Import of Cotton into Great Britain, during the last ten years.*

1860.	Atlantic States.	New Orleans, Mobile, &c.	Total United States.	Brazil.	Democrata and Berbice.	West Indies, &c.	Egypt.	East Indies.
Liverpool.....	587098	1912867	2499965	108084	691	6338	108784	452553
London.....	12	107	119	....	....	1790	....	106940
Fleetwood, &c.....	23167	19220	42387	....	500	400	....	919
Glasgow.....	13403	25146	88509	....	....	185	1275	2327
TOTAL, 1860.....	628640	1957340	2589980	108084	1191	8683	110009	562733
" 1869.....	577936	1508188	2086124	124930	1051	5643	101427	509695
" 1858.....	499251	1363893	1863147	106127	575	6197	105603	360980
" 1857.....	454752	1026963	1481715	168340	443	11094	75593	680466
" 1856.....	473713	1284582	1758295	122411	685	10655	112911	463932
" 1855.....	626819	966659	1623478	134762	1090	7850	115013	396014
" 1854.....	513509	1152970	1666479	107393	572	8775	81085	308293
" 1853.....	509757	1028276	1538033	132443	572	8267	106393	455527
" 1852.....	583912	1203773	1788685	144214	1796	10357	199565	222361
" 1851.....	482349	911753	1397112	108670	633	7843	63833	326474

*Export and Consumption of Cotton in Great Britain, for four years.*

1860.	EXPORT.						CONSUMPTION.		
	Liverpool.	London.	Other Ports.	Total, 1860.	1859.	1858.	1860.	1859.	1858.
American...	250040	410	....	250450	142200	157900	2241500	1906760	1638627
Brazilian...	8300	....	....	8300	7850	10350	113374	105410	112937
W. Indian...	400	....	....	400	380	120	6384	5984	10882
Egyptian...	3590	....	....	3590	14350	6350	95829	98687	89543
East Indian.	268360	78440	....	346800	272270	173880	176068	177465	322570
TOTAL..	530600	77850	....	608450	437050	346800	2633245	2204810	2174560

*Statement of Stock of Cotton at the close of the last six years.*

DESCRIPTIONS.	Liverpool.	London.	Glasgow.	TOTAL IN THE KINGDOM.					
	1860.	1860.	1860.	1860.	1859.	1858.	1857.	1856.	1855.
Sea Island.....	6440	....	280	6720	6210	8800	11230	8970	10600
Stained Sea Island.....	110	....	....	110	480	150	650	1210	1600
Upland.....	75900	....	9950	76850	88450	86220	67130	42200	55250
Mobile.....	47700	....	8420	51120	36570	27030	21050	36740	35570
New-Orleans.....	256040	80	4280	260350	174520	146790	112370	89010	105140
Pernambuco, &c.....	3540	....	....	3540	17690	3870	19700	12230	22560
Bahia, &c.....	630	....	....	630	6440	9080	7380	9650	18500
Maranham.....	7980	....	....	7980	6560	5470	9100	5240	22900
Egyptian.....	25610	....	720	26330	15650	27260	17550	27170	50370
Surat and Madras.....	120650	35500	540	156690	115320	55860	191150	96650	132170
Bengal and Manila.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	150	2800	1030
Other descriptions.....	4130	110	....	4240	1150	790	5020	790	3650
TOTAL.....	545630	35640	13190	594510	469520	371980	452520	371980	436470

## 3.—TOBACCO COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

We are indebted to Charles De Ford & Co., of Baltimore, for the following statistics of the Tobacco trade of the United States and of Baltimore, for the last ten years, and also of the several European countries to which that article is exported:

*Statement of Manufactured Tobacco Exported from the United States for years ending 30th June.*

YEARS.	PACKAGES.	WEIGHT.	VALUE.
1856.....	95,320	10,008,606	\$1,829,207
1857.....	71,016	7,456,662	1,458,553
1858.....	106,764	11,210,574	2,400,115
1859.....	143,279	14,912,811	3,334,401
1860.....	172,531	17,697,309	3,572,074
Average for five years.....	117,792	12,257,192	\$2,478,870

*Table of Leaf Tobacco Inspections in Baltimore for the last ten years.*

YEARS.	MARYLAND.	OHIO.	KENTUCKY AND OTHER KINDS.	TOTAL.
1851.....	25,013	16,798	981	42,742
1852.....	29,569	17,720	1,043	48,332
1853.....	29,348	17,747	1,472	48,667
1854.....	26,048	10,362	2,560	38,970
1855.....	28,479	10,097	991	39,567
1856.....	38,330	12,059	1,583	52,852
1857.....	38,057	7,640	1,698	47,395
1858.....	45,200	22,300	2,160	70,660
1859.....	44,448	15,831	3,022	63,301
1860.....	51,000	23,000	2,700	77,300
Average for ten years.....	35,539	15,455	1,905	52,919

*Exports of Leaf Tobacco from the Port of Baltimore, for the last ten years.*

YEARS.	BREMEN.	ROTTERDAM.	AMSTERDAM.	FRANCE.	ALL OTHER PLACES.	TOTAL.
1851.....	12,654	9,694	4,154	2,327	5,295	34,124
1852.....	22,800	11,473	5,067	7,679	5,275	52,357
1853.....	13,702	10,395	9,980	5,380	4,680	49,142
1854.....	18,061	7,407	5,583	10,180	4,006	45,237
1855.....	9,102	9,510	5,810	7,526	4,444	36,392
1856.....	20,613	14,215	7,779	4,891	8,301	55,798
1857.....	18,034	11,711	4,054	7,438	6,325	47,562
1858.....	16,542	18,059	3,825	16,985	7,911	63,272
1859.....	19,180	21,735	1,253	8,311	5,198	55,617
1860.....	24,700	22,700	5,200	6,825	9,341	68,766
Ave. for 10 yrs.	18,045	13,689	5,270	7,749	6,072	50,826

*Statement of the Exports of Leaf Tobacco from the United States for the years  
ending 30th June.*

YEARS.	HHDs.	BALES.	CASES.	VALUE.
1856.....	116,962	17,772	9,334	\$12,221,848
1857.....	156,848	14,432	5,631	20,662,772
1858.....	127,670	12,640	4,841	17,009,767
1859.....	198,846	19,651	7,188	21,074,068
1860.....	167,274	17,817	15,065	15,906,547
Average for five years.....	153,520	16,462	8,416	17,574,993

*Table exhibiting Produce, Commerce and Consumption of Tobacco in all the  
European States.*

COUNTRIES.	YEAR.	PRODUCTION OF TOBACCO.	COMMERCE.		CONSUMPTION.	
			IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTAL.	PER HEAD.
		Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.
*Austria.....	1853	45,506,000	29,062,400	8,151,800	76,710,600	1.92
*France.....	1857	30,000,000	23,262,324	300,000	52,062,324	1.49
*Russia.....	1852	25,000,000	6,832,040	967,860	30,564,190	0.59
*Spain.....	1854		23,003,543	15,728	23,487,815	1.41
*Portugal.....	1845-46	5,000,000	2,500,000	10,000	4,990,000	1.41
*Sardinia.....	1854	378,000				
*Tuscanay.....	1850-59	1,289,000	9,804,500	176,500	12,420,000	0.90
*Sicilia.....	Average	1,125,000				
*Papal States.....	1852	1,289,000	3,270,897	451,519	4,108,478	1.84
Zolverein.....	1857	28,805,539	44,292,600	23,596,600	79,501,539	2.43
England.....	1857		43,747,961	11,564,256	32,183,975	1.27
Holland.....	Average	6,609,000	13,400,000	6,000,000	14,000,000	4.00
Belgium.....	1859	2,665,548	12,368,676	850,036	14,684,188	2.75
Switzerland.....	1854-55	1,200,000	8,220,620	193,860	9,226,760	3.65
Sweden & Norway.....	Average	147,240	6,044,691	181,931	6,000,000	1.50
Denmark.....	do.	250,000	8,532,445	3,600,000	5,242,445	3.50
Turkey.....	do.	16,000,000	10,000,000	1,500,000	24,500,000	2.34
Greece.....	1853	5,500,000	101,860	1,136,614	4,463,246	3.30
Total.....		201,049,427	254,004,557	58,206,734	306,847,250	....

\* Tobacco a State monopoly.

**4.—EXPORTS OF WHEAT, WHEAT FLOUR, CORN, AND CORN MEAL,  
FROM THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1844 TO 1860, INCLUSIVE.**

Year.	Wheat.	Flour.	Corn.	Corn Meal.	Total value.	Average price of Flour.
1844.....	\$500,000	\$3,759,488	\$404,008	\$641,029	\$8,304,925	\$4.75
1845.....	836,770	5,398,593	411,741	641,552	6,789,665	4.51
1846.....	1,681,975	11,668,669	1,186,663	945,081	15,482,383	5.18
1847.....	6,049,350	20,133,811	14,395,212	4,301,334	50,879,707	5.95
1848.....	2,669,175	13,194,169	3,837,483	1,807,601	21,508,368	6.22
1849.....	1,756,848	11,280,582	7,966,369	1,169,625	22,173,424	5.35
1850.....	643,745	7,008,570	3,892,193	790,611	12,395,120	5.00
1851.....	1,025,732	10,524,331	1,762,549	622,866	13,935,478	4.77
1852.....	2,555,200	11,869,143	1,540,225	574,380	16,538,957	4.24
1853.....	4,354,403	14,783,394	1,374,077	709,974	21,221,848	5.60
1854.....	12,420,172	27,701,444	6,074,277	1,002,976	47,199,869	7.89
1855.....	1,329,246	10,896,908	6,981,571	1,237,122	20,424,847	10.10
1856.....	15,115,061	29,275,148	7,422,635	1,175,688	53,189,062	8.34
1857.....	22,240,837	25,882,316	5,134,666	957,791	54,255,630	7.24
1858.....	9,061,504	19,328,884	3,259,039	877,692	31,527,119	5.50
1859.....	2,849,192	14,433,591	1,323,103	994,209	19,600,155	5.98
1860.....	....	....	....	....	25,656,494	....

The comparison covers a period of seventeen years, during which time there have been great fluctuations in the value of the exports. During the first four years (viz., from 1844 to 1847 inclusive), the average annual amount was \$20,250,000. For the five years, 1856 to 1860, the average value has been \$37,000,000, while for the eight intervening years, we find the average export to range at \$21,850,000. It appears, therefore, that from 1844 to 1855 but very little progress was made in the exportation of cereals, but that since the latter year the trade has nearly doubled. This fact cannot fail to contribute very materially towards developing the resources of the Western States, and improving the value of the lines of railroad communicating with the ports. The progress of the grain trade has contributed very materially toward increasing the tonnage of the country—a fact which may prove an advantage or a loss to our shipowners, just according to whether the foreign demand for our breadstuffs is maintained in future at the same rate as has been realized during late years.

The list of average prices of flour given in the above table shows how little the price of breadstuffs depends upon the demand. We find, for instance, that in 1859 the average was \$5.96 per bbl., with an export of \$14,400,000, while in 1855 the price averaged \$10.10, upon an export of only \$10,900,000. Again, in 1850, when the exports amounted to only \$7,098,570, the price ranged at \$5, while in 1858, although nearly thrice that amount was shipped, the value was only 50c. per bbl. higher. Other instances might be cited, showing that when the exports are large, prices are not necessarily high.—*U. S. Economist.*

## DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURES.

### 1.—WE MUST DEVELOP SOUTHERN INDUSTRY.

To J. D. B. De Bow, Esq.

Men who take a national point of view as to the future of the cotton and tobacco growing Southern States, cannot but entertain apprehensions with regard to the results of the next thirty years.

Commerce, which in olden times moved by the slow and uncertain course and power of the winds, and was wholly confined to the rivers and seas, now has no bounds, regardless of winds and waves, mountains and desert plains. It, with the aid of steam, now traverses the vast extent of land and sea with double and quadruple speed, safety, and certainty.

It is destined to bring into proximity with civilized nations the remotest portions of the savage world, and to stimulate hitherto barbarous nations to systematized industry. Commerce is the great equalizer of the value of the products of labor, and is the grand leveller of prices and wages. Steam has given it giant strides, and a power over the nations far and near. It is not probable, then, that it will be content to see the cotton planters of the southwest making, besides a provision support, ten to twelve bales of cotton, of five or six hundred pounds to the hand, equal to five or six hundred dollars to each laborer, while similar labor in China does not pay more than ten cents per day, producing as good cotton as we make. Neither will commerce—which now holds the sceptre—be satisfied, until she stirs up other parts of the world, in Asia, Africa, Mexico, Central and South America, and the tropical islands, where the absence of organized labor is the only impediment to an extensive growth of cotton.

The last thirty years have produced a complete revolution in the mode of supplying the world with every manufactured article; and may not the next thirty years work out as great a change in the manufacturers' supply of raw cotton? The wealth, intelligence, and power of Great Britain and France are now earnestly engaged in promoting and encouraging the production of raw cotton in every portion of the world, where the soil and climate are congenial.

With these facts before us, may we not be excused for suggesting that there are "breakers ahead?"

Our Southern States, with their exclusive system of cotton and tobacco

culture, and its consequent exhaustion of the soil, may be compared to a vast gold mine, the outskirts of which are nearly exhausted, and the balance sooner or later to be so, as no longer to remunerate labor.

No mining country has ever grown rich, nor has any attempts been made at founding a system of diversified industry that would ennoble and work out permanent prosperity. The history of all mining countries exhibit an utter neglect of everything save *delving for gold*, purchasing all the necessities of life, and in the end coming out poor and dependent, lacking every essential element to make a great and independent people.

We are only to look forward to the period when the production of cotton shall overtake and pass the consumption of it, to see the manufacturing world *our masters*.

The experience of the last forty years has proved that cotton growing countries do not accumulate permanent wealth. From the old Atlantic States mercantile capital emigrates to commercial and manufacturing countries, to work out its continued accumulation. The negroes raised, and the cash capital accumulated by a wasteful exhaustion of the soil, takes a different direction in search of new and more fertile lands. The consequence is, continued depopulation and general impoverishment of the whole country, and we will begin to realize it as soon as the supply of raw cotton overtakes and passes consumption.

The cotton crop of 1859 and '60 brought us two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. It has all been spent, and we have drawn on the bank circulation and spent, at least, thirty millions more; and there is but little doubt that the South now owes the North a debt of near eighty-five millions, equal in amount to the entire banking capital of the planting States.

China produces cotton enough to clothe three hundred millions of people. England, France, and America will soon supply the entire population of that vast empire with machine-made cotton goods, and throw out of employment the millions now engaged in producing hand-made clothes. If they pursue the policy of purchasing where they can procure the cheapest, they will abandon hand-manufacturing, and be compelled to raise cotton to give in exchange for Yankee and European fabrics; and why shall we not expect a serious competition from that quarter?

The expense of transportation will not be in the way. The cost of carrying a bale of cotton from Calcutta to Liverpool is but 75 cents; and very soon railroads will be built to give cotton a cheap transit to the seaboard from all countries.

But to say nothing about China, Japan, and the East Indies, and Africa, have we not nearer neighbors? Mexico, Central and South America, where the cotton plant is indigenous. All that is required by those countries is a strong and permanent government, such as they may obtain under the protection of Great Britain, France, or Spain, affording protection to capital and well regulated industry, to make them serious competitors with us in supplying the world with cotton. We have no lack of reckless adventurers—rich cotton planters—who would move to South America, or any other country that promised protection to his property, and an additional two or three bales of cotton to the hand.

Whenever we meet with competition from abroad, such as will reduce cotton to five or six cents, South Carolina will be the first to feel what will be experienced by all the old planting States. She has slumbered at her post, and will have to begin where she ought to have started thirty years ago. She will see in time that the spindle, the anvil, and the loom, the vineyard, orchard, hay meadow, stock and grazing, and grain fields, should have had their due share of capital and industrial energy; travelling hand in hand with the rice and cotton field. We speak now for South Carolina. We do not lack for water-power in healthy regions, and there has been no lack of capital; for the millions which have been accumulated in Charleston alone and transmitted to the North, would be sufficient to make a garden spot of the whole State, and that city the *queen of the South*.

We have white people enough in the State to work up all the cotton that



ought to be produced. And cannot all see that we would be far better off as people, if we made less cotton and could find a market at home for it, and all other agricultural products? We should then be truly independent of those who have grown rich on our extravagant liberality; and would now, if they could, seize and destroy the first element of our prosperity.

## DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

### 1.—VICKSBURG AND SHREVEPORT RAILROAD.

This important road, which seeks to connect the waters of the Mississippi with the northern portion of Texas, is now in course of vigorous prosecution. In the last year it has advanced to Monroe, which gives seventy-nine miles of finished road, and fifteen miles nearly graded and ready for superstructure, with all the iron received for equipment. Six engines and a sufficiency of cars are provided. This gives the company the absolute right to sell nearly one half of the three hundred and fifty thousand acres of land granted by Congress to aid in building the road. These lands reach nearly across the State, from east to west, and lie along the line of the road on either side of it, in the centre of the cotton zone, and a large portion of them are among the most productive lands in the world. About five thousand acres of these lands have been sold at prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$20 per acre.

The debt of the company is \$200,520. It has expended \$1,406,936, and disposed of \$280,000 of its first mortgage bonds.

The general prosperity of the country has had its influence here as elsewhere, as is shown by the advance in the price of certain species of property, which is only slightly and indirectly influenced by railroads. In two of the parishes the extension of the levees on the Mississippi river has had a decided influence in increasing the value of property. In other parishes the road is the only new element of universal prosperity, and after making a liberal allowance for the operation of other causes, we must set down at least \$15,000,000 of this increase to the influence of the railroad. Upon this amount of taxable property, the State derives an annual revenue of \$45,000, which is equal to 16 per cent. interest upon the amount of bonds the State has issued to the company. The parishes receive a corresponding advantage in the shape of parish taxes upon the property developed within their limits. The parishes of Madison and Carroll have already received into their treasuries, in levee and other parish taxes, assessed upon property developed and brought into these parishes by the road, more than the amount contributed by them toward building it. This is well illustrated in the case of the city of Vicksburg, which subscribed \$100,000, and within twelve months from the passage of the ordinance making the subscription, and before the second instalment of \$20,000 was paid, the road in the meantime having reached the western boundary of Madison parish, and brought in the rich trade from the Roundaway, Tensas, and Joe's Bayou, the assessed value of the property in that city had increased \$612,000. In addition to the wealth it has brought into the State, a large number of worthy citizens have been made rich by the increase in the value of their lands, and owe their fortunes to this road. The treasury of the State has been enriched by the sale of swamp lands, and internal improvement lands brought into market by it. It has stimulated emigration to the State, and the parishes along its line are increasing in population in a manner unprecedented in the history of Louisiana. The unparalleled productiveness of the cotton lands along the line of this road, the known facilities it will afford for transportation and travel, are attracting attention, and inviting capitalists from other States. There are other beneficial effects resulting, and to result from the construction of this road, which should not be overlooked. It is beginning already to bind together in community of interest, sections of the State which have heretofore had little sympathy with each other. The levees built on the Mississippi, to reclaim the swamp lands,

being necessary also to protect the railroad, will cause the upland parishes to feel interested to aid in keeping up the levees to the full extent that they appreciate the privileges and advantages of their railroad.

## 2.—NEW-ORLEANS, OPELOUSAS, AND GREAT WESTERN ROAD.

This is another important road looking to the connection of Texas and Louisiana.

The report of the company to the legislature says:

The earnings of the road, estimated in our last report at \$450,000, proves to be \$481,921 87.

The speedy completion of the road being of vast importance to the commerce of the city, measures were adopted by the board in June last, to interest our merchants in an united effort to effect sales of such an amount of bonds as would enable us to push on rapidly with our construction. But the business season drawing to a close, and monetary matters not being in a favorable condition, it was determined to defer action until November. We are now met by a state of affairs, public and private, preventing any movement of this kind at present; although, under any circumstances and changes, there are no securities in which capitalists can invest with surer guarantees of prompt payment of interest, and eventful reimbursement of the principal.

Notwithstanding these hindrances, we have made considerable progress by means derived from sales of bonds and the earnings of the road, without increasing the floating debt, which will be carried over to next year, paying the interest in advance.

We report as follows:

The tract of the completed portion of the road—80 miles, to Brashear—together with the rolling stock, maintained in perfect order.

The swamp work at Berwick, under contract with Mr. Knox, nearly finished.

The graduation of the whole line (excepting one and a half miles of swamp) between Berwick and New Iberia, under contract with Mr. Bisbee, to be finished in about two months.

Nearly twenty miles of gradation completed between New Iberia and Opelousas.

Four first class passenger cars, and two of second class, added to the rolling stock; a contract made for the Berwick's Bay transportation steamboat, and partial payment thereon; two new barges, paid for; also payment in full of the Gretna mortgage debt of \$25,000; and punctual provision made, monthly in advance, for the interest on the bonds sold, agreeably to our contract with the Louisiana State Bank.

The quantity of lands enuring to the road, under the grant of 1856, as given in our last report, was 608,150 acres. In appendix to second edition, there was added a supplemental list of approved lands, 34,483 acres, making a total of 642,633 acres, approved and reported to the governor of the State, exclusive of 90,332 acres suspended for examination, nearly the whole of which, we are advised, have been approved to the road, but the list not yet received.

None of these lands have yet been sold. The sales will probably nett an amount equal to the whole paid up capital of the company.

The Board of Directors, although fully impressed with the very great importance of completing this road as soon as possible, do not think it expedient or safe, at this time, to increase our floating debt for that purpose, but decide rather to go on steadily, as the resources of the company in bonds and lands can be realized, so as in no event to jeopardize the property entrusted to their care and management. These resources are considered ample for paying off our whole debt, and for completing and equipping the road to the line of Texas—total length, 258 miles.

And this road, thus built and equipped by the paid up subscription (\$500,000) to the capital stock, and the probable proceeds of the sale of public lands, will have cost and be fully worth six millions of dollars, at a cost to the stockholders (State, city, and individual) of only three and a half millions, and by this the prospective value of the stock may be estimated.

## EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

THE Annual Report of the Board of Public Works, to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, for the year 1860, is a very valuable document, and will surprise every one by its extent, and the very wide range of subjects which it discusses. There are five steam and dredge boats owned by the State, and a force of ninety slaves. The amount which would be required to carry out all of the works which are discussed, is thus stated:

Internal Improvement Department...	\$229,500
Plaquemine Lock, and closing Old River.....	500,000
Diking head of Bayou Cowhead, etc....	5,900
Cat Island Levee.....	47,330
Drainage in the parish of Vermillion...	3,700
Harrisonburg Levee.....	168,300
Cleaning and deepening Bayou Saline...	33,000
Cleaning Bayou Conway.....	4,500
Bayous Coolie and Bonne-Idée.....	119,687
Closing heads of Hurricane Bayou, etc.	4,200
Drainage of Terrebonne Valley.....	53,000
Drainage of Lafourche Valley.....	105,619
Diking Black Bayou.....	2,200
Survey of Falls of Red River.....	1,000
Contingent Appropriation for Surveys, etc.....	20,000

The Chief Engineer, Mr. Duncan, however, only asks appropriations at present, for:

"First. Closing Old River and canalizing and locking Bayou Plaquemine, for the reason that these works materially simplify the problem for the complete drainage and reclamation of a large portion of the State, and furnish the key to the subsequent drainage of the whole. Besides, fully two-thirds of the State are dependent upon their construction for a free navigable water communication with the Mississippi and the New-Orleans markets.

"Second. Reorganization of the Internal Improvement Department, because, constant work is required upon all the streams of the State to improve their navigation, and to facilitate their drainage capacity; and no system of drainage and reclamation can ever ap-

proach perfection, without beginning at the outlets, and thence opening out all of the main drainage arteries.

"Third. General Contingent Fund, with the view of developing a complete general plan of operations for all the public works of the State, so that we can refer every partial work, which may be made hereafter, to this general plan, and so regulate and adjust it, as to make it meet all subsequent requirements of the whole, and conflict with no other interest."

George W. Childs, late of Childs & Peterson, has entered the well-known firm of J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, who will now become the exclusive American publishers of "Chambers' Encyclopedia," having purchased the rights of Appleton & Co. in that work. The character of Chambers' publications is well established all over the world, including their school books and library of useful knowledge. Two years ago they commenced the publication of a Popular Dictionary of Useful Knowledge, entirely original in its scope and plan, each article being especially written for it.

Those upon the physical sciences and practical arts are especially full, and American subjects have been largely treated of by American contributors. The publication is in monthly parts, thirteen of which make a volume of 832 pages imperial 8vo, illustrated with maps and numerous wood engravings. The seven maps in vol. I, beautifully engraved and printed in colors, represent Africa, Central America, North and South America, Asia, Australia, and Austria. The second volume will be issued in a neat and strong binding, in a few days. The whole work, when completed, will extend to about seven volumes, and a general index will be

appended to the last, to facilitate easy reference. The paper and printing are excellent. So much for what may be called the mechanical portions of this publication. Upon its literary merits—its completeness and accuracy, and the extent and variety of its information—there can be only one opinion. The work is worthy of the high aim and established reputation of its projectors. Art and science, theology and jurisprudence, natural history and metaphysics, topography and geography, medicine and antiquities, biography and belles-lettres, are all discussed here, not in long treatises, but to an extent sufficient to give requisite information, at a glance, as it were. Sometimes, when the subject justifies it, more minute details are given: for example, the articles upon the subjects of *Book*, *Book-binding*, and *Book-trade*, (in vol. II.,) by William Chambers, really are interesting treatises upon these topics, containing the results of a lifetime of experience as publisher and author. An unauthorized edition of this *Encyclopædia*, minus the maps, has hitherto been published at New-York, but arrangements have been made by which the work will be issued almost simultaneously in Edinburgh by the Messrs. Chambers, and in Philadelphia by Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co. Its fullness upon American subjects ought to recommend it especially in this country, and its low price makes it one of the cheapest and most accessible works ever published.

A member of the bar of Richmond, Va., sends a pamphlet copy of "Four Essays, on the Right and Propriety of SECESSION by the Southern States." The author argues ably for the right and the expediency of its exercise, and closes with these elegant words:

"If all the principles of the revolution of 1776 are to be overthrown and trampled upon in our blood; if the Declaration of Independence is to be proclaimed a lie by the American Union, and, under its flag, the sword is to settle questions of political right, and her army dictate a government to our people, let us preserve our attitude of unoffending right and defence, and appealing to the arbiter of all human events for the justice of our cause,

bravely meet our foe, confident of victory, and we cannot fail. God will not desert us in such an hour; and the Christian nations of Europe, who will not permit even the Turk to be oppressed, will not stand idly by and see another unoffending Christian nation rudely overrun, and basely slaughtered, because it claims the right to govern itself. But if they do, we will still preserve our freedom, or die with honor. If the spirit of Garibaldi could free Italy, the South can never be conquered while her sons are faithful, and have Lee, Garland, Davis, Shubrick, Ingraham, Huger and the Magraders to lead them."

A friend, writing from the capitol of North Carolina, gives us the following account of the action of its legislature recently in session, upon a great variety of subjects. The following acts of importance were passed:

An act to amend the charter of the Western N. C. Railroad. It provides for running a road down the French Broad River, from Asheville to Paint Rock, on the Tennessee line; and for building a road to Asheville into Haywood county (38 miles), on the way to Ducktown. These branches to be built with the present appropriation, of which it is thought there will be \$1,400,000 left, after completing the Western N. C. Road to the French Broad at Asheville.

An act to amend charter, and further assist the Wilmington, Charlotte, and Rutherford Railroad. This road commences at Wilmington, on the Cape Fear river, near the ocean, and thence with a slight curve northwest, to the town of Charlotte, the western termination of the N. C. Railroad, and northern of the Columbia and Charlotte Railroad. From Charlotte, after a slight northerly curve, it runs directly west to the town of Rutherfordton. It is nearly an air-line; and though laboring under many disadvantages, has by the energy of its president and chief engineer been well managed. Seventy-five miles are completed, and in use at its eastern end, twenty are in use from Charlotte west. The act appropriates \$1,000,000 for the use of the road. H. W. Guion, Prest.; Jno. C. McRae, Chief Engineer.

An act to amend charter of the Western Railroad (runs from Fayetteville at head of steamboat navigation on Cape Fear river, to the coal fields on Deep river). The act provides for the completion of the road into the heart of the coal field, and for its extension to some point on the North Carolina Railroad, and appropriates \$500,000. The iron for the extension must be made in the State, which will be easily done, as several rolling mills are now going up on Deep river. The coal-carrying length of this road will be about 48 miles, with a descending grade to the point of shipment at Fayetteville.

An act to charter the Fayetteville and Warsaw Railroad. Incorporates a company to build a railroad from Fayetteville, on the Cape Fear, to Warsaw dépôt, on the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad; appropriates \$200,000. Will be cheaply built, as the country is perfectly level.

An act to incorporate the Chatham Railroad, to be built from the coal fields to some point on the N. C. Railroad, near Raleigh. Appropriates \$200,000.

An act to incorporate the Dallas (N. C.) and Yorkville (S. C.) Railroad Company. No appropriation.

An act to give additional aid to the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal Co. Appropriates \$200,000.

Acts to create three new counties were passed. Mitchell (named after Dr. Mitchell, who died on the Black Mountains), Transylvania, and Clay, all in the western part of the State.

Two new small banks were incorporated.

The militia laws were revised, and an adjutant-general appointed, making the whole system more perfect, and organization better. An appropriation of \$300,000 to buy arms and ammunition was passed.

A large number of bills incorporating mining and manufacturing companies were passed, indicating that the people of the State are disposed to develop their mineral wealth, and to be independent in manufactures. It is full time that the former should be developed, and the latter encouraged.

The revenue bill was passed with promptness, showing that all the citizens of North Carolina, however they

may differ as to the mode, are ever willing to provide the means to pay her debt. The tax is slightly raised, in the average, over the bill of two years ago. The amendment to the Constitution providing for an ad valorem system of taxation, failed to receive a constitutional majority.

An act to charter a company to build a railroad from Greensborough, on the N. C. Railroad, to Leaksville, on the Virginia line, was passed. This is in reality what is called the Danville connexion, and with the proposed railroad extension from Asheville to Cleveland, Tenn., via Ducktown, will make the shortest route from Memphis or New-Orleans to Virginia or the North.

The *Children's Home* of the Protestant Episcopal Church of New-Orleans, appeals strongly to the charity of the people of the State. Let the benevolent listen to the powerful argument which it is making to them:

We have enough of fine women and men! What we need, what the country calls for, are *men and women* who are not ashamed to work, and who can adapt themselves to any calling.

Since we have parted from the North we should employ Southern mechanics. We are to become one of the powers of the world. Our country is to be aggrandized.

Mechanics will be needed. Trusty men are always wanted. Let us educate them in our midst. Let the children of Louisiana reap the profits to be derived from Louisiana.

And what system can be better than this? What education can be procured more cheaply? "It is the desire of the Managers and Board of Council, to be able to welcome all needy children—orphans and half orphans—who may be offered, to become inmates of their Home—to feed and clothe them, and to give them such instruction and training as will make them intelligent, industrious, virtuous, and useful members of society, when they shall have passed from under the charge and control of the Home."

At the head of this institution are to be found some of the most influential ladies and gentlemen of the city. The ladies, especially, always benevolent



and kind, are strenuously exerting themselves in its behalf.

The following is the list of officers :

The Right Rev. Leonidas Polk, D.D.,  
Bishop of the Diocese, *ex officio* visitor.

BOARD OF COUNSEL.

Rev. A. D. McCoy, Chairman.

Mr. Robert Urquhart, Treasurer.

Mr. Walter Bennett, Secretary.

Mr. R. C. Cummings.

Mr. John B. Murison.

John S. Maunsell.

By paying a thousand dollars, a person becomes a patron. He and his heirs at law for ever have the right of sending an orphan or destitute child to be educated and supported, free of charge, and the same privilege is given in the charter to any parish, corporation, or society, contributing one thousand dollars for each child.

The institution is in need of some forty thousand dollars to put them on a working footing. They are anxious to obtain a suitable home in the city for the children; the building they now occupy, already containing forty-three children, being entirely too small for their accommodation; and, if possible, they wish to procure a small farm in the neighborhood of the city, where the boys can perfect themselves in their agricultural pursuits, and in some of the mechanical arts.

Dr. Samuel Cartwright, whose very original and striking views in regard to the *negro character, habits, organization, &c.*, have been so often presented to the readers of the REVIEW, and been read with wide and general interest, has recently addressed us the following letter, which we give entire. Referring to his article in the February No., he says :

" Since I sent it to you, I have seen a short article from Sir Littleton Bulwer, on the subject of polygamy, in which he takes the ground that it produces a degenerate race—affects mind and body. I laid it by so carefully that I cannot find it, or I would send it to you. It completely demolishes Dr. Burns' objections to Forshey's paper. I invited you to attend my lecture on Feticism, and to bring Fenner, but I suppose you were out of town. Hon. Chas. Gayarre was called to the chair, and it was moved by some member of

the Academy of Sciences, I do not know by whom, that the lecture be published for general distribution. The motion was carried unanimously. It was published in the 'Delta,' and, I regret, without any mention being made that its publication was the action of the Society or Academy of Sciences. An important error, *negative and positive*, put in the wrong places, occurred in the printing of the 'Sunday Delta.' It was corrected in the 'Weekly Delta.' The subject of the lecture was intended as a continuation of the articles already published in your REVIEW, about the Nachash and Canaan. One of the French papers contains a long review of it. The reviewer thinks that the influence the white man, armed with nothing but the whip, exercises over the negro more than if armed with a gun, is wholly without proof, mere theory, unworthy of serious consideration. Now, Mr. De Bow, as our Convention has adjourned to New-Orleans, you would not only do me a favor, but particularly the whole South a favor, if you would mix with the members of the Convention and interrogate them on that especial point, and publish the result of your inquiries, viz.: whether negroes are not easier governed by an overseer armed with nothing but the whip, than with ever so many swords and pistols? Whether it is not moral instead of physical power which keeps negroes in subjection? Whether a good overseer has any fear to go unarmed among an hundred negroes, and whip any one or more of them; and whether he has not always, when unarmed with deadly weapons, fully five-sixths of the negroes on the plantation ready to do his bidding—to catch and hold any refractory fellow. Whether, on the other hand, if an overseer go into the field armed with deadly weapons, and draws a sword, for instance, upon a negro, the others will sustain him as they do when armed with nothing but a whip? When in Cuba, I was surprised to see overseers carrying a broadsword into the field instead of a whip, and relying upon blood-hounds to catch and hold resisting negroes, instead of negroes themselves. Interrogate the members of the Convention, who are generally planters from all parts of the State, if

they would permit such an overseer to stay on their plantation a single day. The Spaniards have never made anything profitable out of negroes, because they govern them on the same principles that white slaves are governed, instead of governing them by moral powers, applicable to them, but not to the white man. Thus, whipping would never make a white man more easy to govern, without the sword than with one. Another point to interrogate the members of the Convention, upon which my French reviewer thought too wild and destitute of proof to deserve notice, viz.: Whether whipping does not put sulky and dissatisfied negroes (who have no cause to be so) in a good humor with themselves? Whether an experienced master or overseer cannot see what is called the devil in a negro's countenance before he commits a crime, and whether he does not prevent the negro from doing mischief by whipping it out? You will see the importance of these questions at this juncture, and the members of the Convention should be interested in giving you correct information. If you choose to publish my article on Feticism in your March or April number, I would be glad to see it headed with the substance of the answers you get from the members of the Convention. Never was a better opportunity of gathering knowledge of the peculiar character of the negro from the fountain head, than that now afforded by the assemblage of the most intelligent planters of the State in New-Orleans, attending the Convention. Merchants, lawyers, and scientific men will not credit the facts I have given in regard to negroes. I appeal to the planters through you."

Governor Floyd's able vindication of himself, from the malicious assaults of the Black Republicans, has been received by us. We agree with the "Richmond Enquirer" and "Charleston Mercury" that it is unanswerable. He concludes:

"I protest that this investigation, so far as I am concerned, has been conducted against every rule of justice and public decency. The Christian maxim, as old as civilization—'hear the other side'—has been utterly dis-

regarded. The time-honored rule of common law—'every man shall be held innocent until his guilt is proved'—has been reversed; everything has been assumed against me, and the onus of proving the negative thrust upon my shoulders. The opportunity for confronting and cross-examining witnesses, or even of knowing the charges to be inquired into, has not been afforded by the Star Chamber inquisition, who have not even allowed the witnesses supposed to entertain friendship for me, an opportunity of correcting the proof sheets of their testimony. But these proceedings only prove what is already too well known to the public—that these investigations of Congress have degenerated into mere engines of partizan warfare—infernal engines, plotted in secret for indiscriminate destructiveness. Few men of character will now take part in them; and they have come to be composed of persons of the basest instincts—worse than assassins of life—assassins of character.

"For these reasons I protest against the validity of the report of this committee for any purpose, so far as I am concerned, except to prove the malignity of its authors, and their unscrupulous industry as scandal-mongers and detectives. I protest against their whole proceedings in regard to me as a brutal assault upon every safeguard of public and private character, which modern civilization has been wont to cherish as sacred. I denounce them as utterly unworthy to pronounce judgment upon any political adversary, and repudiate their accusations against me as the malicious aspersions of partizan opponents and personal enemies."

The proprietors have placed in our hands a *self-cocking hair-trigger revolver*, which is one of the simplest, cheapest, and most powerful instruments of defence with which we have met. The agent for New-Orleans is O. S. Jennings, 20 Camp-street. Our contemporary of the "Crescent" says most truthfully of the weapon:

"*Starr's Revolvers*.—We made a trial with one of these pistols a few days since, and must acknowledge that we were agreeably surprised at its great range and accuracy.

Without being heavier than is desirable for a serviceable belt-pistol, they carry a sufficiently heavy ball to be effective, and, in the hands of a good marksmen, a man could be brought down every time at from one hundred to one hundred and fifty yards. The trial we made convinced us of this, and, further, that they possess all the advantages of the Colt army and navy revolver, with the additional ones of being better adapted for quick shooting, and having conveniences for cleaning and keeping in order what in active service will render them less liable to damage. Military companies, about supplying themselves with side arms, could do no better than choose this pistol."

A very practical friend in Mississippi, and well-known writer upon agricultural subjects, has addressed us much at large upon the subject of slave trade legislation at Montgomery, and the importance of home education at the South. He disapproves of the Confederate States placing any brand upon the slave trade, and would leave the matter as an open one. In regard to education, we make a brief extract from his letter:

"No parent who can spare the means necessary, should hesitate to give his children, girls or boys, as thorough a knowledge of the languages as is practicable. No other study tends so fully to engender attention of mind. There is time enough for boys to enter into the bustle of life at the age of 25, and girls to enter on the duties of housekeeping at 20.

The desire to "get an education" in a short time, is only part and parcel of the principles of the age we live in. "A royal road" is sought for in this as in making a fortune; the hard labor of by-gone days in either is now discarded. Since the North has been sending South her yearly supply of teachers by the hundred, to teach the young idea how to shoot, the evil is becoming greater. The year, the school-room year, was in times past twelve calendar months, excepting some two weeks, including Christmas. It has been whittled down to ten lunar months. The Yankees desired to go "to hum," to have rest after their protracted labors, so they reduce the year to nearly nine months, old style. Boys and girls have to pass over a certain number of studies; consequently, by aid of "keys" and "translations," they

are forced through and fitted in double time for graduation.

Many children now know nothing of home education. They are sent from home to school, and when at home all restraint is removed, and they are free to act as they please. The youth have no more respect to age than they have for their teachers. Both are evils in their eye, and the sooner they are removed the better. Respect to age is a part of an education, and a very necessary part. The man who has never served in the ranks, is not fit to command, all else being equal. Obedience, strict, absolute, unhesitating obedience, is the first and last lesson to inculcate. It fits the man or woman to be not only a better Christian, but a better citizen, master, father, mother, friend. The youth of a score of years, or may be under, hesitates no more to meet his senior by two score in argument, than to meet his peer in a debating society. Admit he may have the right side of the question, yet it is the result of imitation or accident; and modesty, or the hickory, should teach him silence when the aged speak. Had we a more rigid discipline in our schools, our youth would not get so full of wind, and not be so likely to expose themselves.

The following excellent resolutions were recently introduced in the Georgia State Convention. We trust they will be adopted in all of the Southern States:

*Whereas*, during her connexion with the late United States, the State of Georgia was dependent upon the Northern States for her school books, and the dependence still continues; and, *whereas*, it is important in all matters pertaining to education, that the South should be independent of her late confederates; therefore, to aid in effecting this most desirable object,

*Be it resolved*, by the Convention of the people of Georgia, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to offer a prize of five hundred dollars, each, for the following works, to be written or compiled by citizens resident in the Confederate States of America, viz.: A Spelling Book for the use of Common Schools, an Arithmetic, an English Grammar, a Geography, and two Reading Books, one for beginners and for more advanced scholars; the prizes to be awarded by a committee appointed by the Governor, and the books selected to be published and printed within the Confederacy, and the copyright to be owned or disposed of by the authors or compilers of the several works.

We are reminded of a report presented by us in 1857, to the Southern Convention at Savannah, which may with propriety be called up again. (See De Bow's Review, vol. xxii, p. 104.)

*Cherry Blossom; or, Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself.* By Edward Schiller. New-York: R. M. DeWitt, Publisher.

An interesting novel. The plot partly in New-Orleans.

*Physical and Moral Aspects of Geology.* By W. J. Barbee, A.M., M.D., Senatobia, Miss. Philadelphia: James Challen & Sons. 1860.

A valuable Southern school-book. May the number of such increase.

The work is divided into three parts.

PART I. treats of Geological Dynamics—under which head the author treats of the changes which have been effected by the agency of *Air, Fire, Water, Chemical Action, Electricity, Vital Action, and Death.* The agency of these great forces is simply, yet beautifully explained.

PART II. presents a general view of the different formations of the Globe, igneous and aqueous, and treats particularly of Paleontology, or the doctrine of Fossil remains.

PART III. is devoted entirely to an examination of all the questions of a moral bearing involved in the science.

His ten arguments on the Antiquity of the Globe—his seven arguments on the Noachian Deluge—and his chapter on the Bible and Geology, and the Benevolence of the Deity argued from the structure of the Earth, will be found deeply interesting to all who desire to maintain the truth of God's Word, and who believe that His Word and Works can never come in conflict.

It is complimentary to the seceding States of the South that in not one of them has the relations of *creditor and debtor* been disturbed by legislative action, notwithstanding the cry that has been raised, and the stringency in money matters, which is supposed to be insufferable from revolutionary movements. To say the creditors of the seceding States have the same powers in our courts that they ever

possessed! Alabama granted an extension of sixty days to persons entering the military service of the State, and Texas proposed the summary process of justices of the peace, but all of our States have refused to go further. Tennessee, however, which allows so much to be said in her midst about Southern "traitors," and finds so much to condemn in the conduct of her brethren in this quarter, is the only exception that we know of at the South of an absolute and unconditional stay-law for the protection of debtors. The virtue and justice of the people there will, no doubt, prevail, as it ever has done, over bad legislation. We annex the Texas law:

"An Act to amend an act entitled, An act to organize Justice's Courts, and to define the powers and jurisdiction of the same, approved March 20, 1848.

"SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Texas, That section fifty-two in said act be so amended as hereafter to read as follows: A justice of the peace may grant a stay of execution on any judgment for money rendered by himself in a civil suit, for nine months; provided the person or persons against whom such judgment was rendered shall, with one or more good and sufficient sureties, to be approved by such justice, appear before him and acknowledge themselves, and each of them, bound to the successful party in such sum as shall secure the amount of the judgment, interest, and cost, which acknowledgment shall be entered by the justice on his docket, and shall have the force and effect of a judgment against the persons making the acknowledgment, upon which execution shall issue for the amount of the original judgment, interest, and costs, in case the same shall not be paid on or before the expiration of such stay; provided that no such stay shall be granted, unless applied for and perfected within ten days after the recovery of the original judgment.

"SEC. 2. That this act take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

"Approved, February 7, 1861."

The LOAN of \$15,000,000, which is asked for by the Confederate States, will, no doubt, be taken by our citizens with the greatest alacrity. Its basis being the cotton crop—could not be firmer, and laid in an export duty could not be more available. Export duties, philosophically speaking, differ little from import duties in their final action. The export duty is paid by the consumer, and thus operates as a check upon consumption. In this case the check may be insignificant. The imports are what the exports purchase,

and the latter must of course feel some of the burden of the import duties. Thus, the American producer and consumer are affected by either. Export duties, in particular exigencies, have very great value, and are adopted by all nations. They were forbidden absolutely by the old government, but, under the new confederacy, may be laid with the assent of two thirds of Congress.

An admirable feature of the present loan is, that it carries with it a sinking fund for its own liquidation. Assuming that the cotton export will not exceed 4,000,000 bales per annum, the interest being 8 per cent., and the duty one-eighth cent. per lb., the following calculation has been made by a contemporary:

First year....	Principal .....	\$15,000,000
	Interest.....	1,200,000
	Surplus.....	1,040,000
Second year....	Principal .....	13,960,000
	Interest.....	1,116,800
	Surplus.....	1,128,000
Third year....	Principal.....	12,836,800
	Interest.....	1,026,944
	Surplus.....	1,213,066
Fourth year....	Principal .....	11,623,744
	Interest.....	929,900
	Surplus.....	1,310,100
Fifth year....	Principal .....	10,313,644
	Interest.....	825,092
	Surplus.....	1,414,908
Sixth year....	Principal .....	8,998,736
	Interest.....	711,899
	Surplus.....	1,528,181
Seventh year....	Principal .....	7,670,635
	Interest.....	618,651
	Surplus.....	1,650,349
Eighth year....	Principal.....	6,320,286
	Interest.....	497,623
	Surplus.....	1,782,377
Ninth year....	Principal.....	4,937,909
	Interest.....	395,033
	Surplus.....	1,924,967
Tenth year....	Principal.....	3,512,942
	Interest.....	261,035
		\$2,173,977
Amount of duty .....		2,240,000
Excess after payment of principal and interest.....		\$66,025

Never before was a loan asked for which was better fortified and secured. The commodity which is taxed for its payment is one of prime necessity—is

required by the whole civilized world, and must be had in war as in peace. The tax is easily assessed, cannot be evaded, and is so small in amount as to be altogether inappreciable to the consumer. The commodity is one, the supply of, and demand for which, continually increase, and so slight a duty will be more than compensated to the consumer in the cheapening of freights, which must result from the abolition of former navigation laws.

The rate of interest—8 per cent.—is that which usually obtains among us, even in times which are not freed from commercial embarrassments. It is the rate paid upon our bank stocks, which are usually at or above par, and exceeds the rate which at this moment is realized upon our State and city bonds purchased in the market. It exceeds, too, that accepted recently by the capitalists of New-York upon a loan to the United States, with its empty treasury, heavy debt, and disrupted revolutionary condition!

Can it be possible that a loan asked for by our confederacy, in which the pride of our citizens is so much involved, secured as it is, beyond all possible contingency, will occupy an inferior place among the capitalists of New-Orleans to that of a similar Northern loan among those of New-York?

God forbid! Let the loan then be taken, and promptly, at par, or at a premium. For premium it will command of \$20 or \$30 in the markets of the world within a period of one or two years, if not earlier.

Let it be remembered that this is a loan upon SOUTHERN FAITH, which has never yet been tarnished—the faith of Louisiana and South Carolina, of Alabama and of Georgia, &c., the resources of either of which are vast and unincumbered. Never stood a national loan upon higher ground than the one which is asked for. Unless the country be utterly overwhelmed and destroyed, the debt will be paid. But who can imagine such disasters, and if they did occur, what other securities in the hands of capitalists would be in better condition than these?

Several very able articles have recently appeared in the Paris "La Pays," which have attracted wide attention



in this country, from the broad and liberal doctrines which they lay down in regard to the duties of France, in the present exigencies of American affairs. "La Pays" is the semi-official organ, and usually in advance prepares the minds of Frenchmen for a policy which is in the contemplation of the Emperor, and is soon to receive the official stamp of the "Moniteur." In the present instance its language is unmistakable. *It recognises disunion as accomplished.* It adverts to the fact, that while the industrial systems of France and of Europe are in rivalry with the North, and must ever be, and sooner or later, will be greatly damaged by that rivalry, the South has in reality the same or co-relative interests. Confined by nature to agricultural products, the richest on the face of the earth, and freed from the aggressive and restrictive policy of the North, unbounded freedom of trade will be inaugurated in the Southern ports! Europe will double her exports, and twelve millions of consumers will seek her fabrics. France, for many reasons, and chiefly those which relate to the Mississippi and Gulf States, will be the favorite nation. Philosophic and abstract sentimentalism ought not to interfere with results which affect the commercial wealth of a nation! The "Pays" goes on:

"The prosperity of the new Confederation is then intimately bound up with European interests in general, and French interests in particular. All those States, we have said, are producers of necessaries, and consumers of manufactured productions. In time, they will extend their production and consumption.

"All their ports will be open to the commerce of the world, and if France knows how to profit by that favorable circumstance which facilitates the putting in practice her new commercial policy, inaugurated by the Emperor, her trade may, notwithstanding distance, become a formidable competitor with that of the Northern States; for her productions, always in demand in foreign markets, will find, besides, in the difference of the manufacturing price, an advantage which, with the custom duties which will be undoubtedly, and by way of reprisal, levied on

merchandise coming from the Northern Republic, will insure a considerable market to French goods.

"The Southern Confederacy is, besides, destined to become a natural ally, capable, if need be, of giving to Europe, if circumstances should ever require it, a powerful aid in exchange for a simple recognition, which will very probably suffice to keep the fanaticism of the North in check, and preserve from almost certain destruction the Southern marts, which Europe could not do without just now."

The "Pays" warns the people of Europe that they have been egregiously deceived in regard to the condition of the slaves of the South, by such writers as Mrs. Stowe, and by the Northern press—their condition being, in fact, better than that of the laboring population of most parts of Europe. The character of the Southern people it thus describes:

"In no part, perhaps, of the Continent, regard being had to the population, do there exist men more eminent and gifted, with nobler or more generous sentiments, than in the Southern States. No country possesses loftier, kinder-hearted and more distinguished women. To commence with the immortal Washington, the list of statesmen who have taken part in the Government of the United States, shows that all those who have shed a lustre on the country, and won the admiration of Europe, owed their being to that much-abused South.

"Is it true that so much distinction, talent, and grandeur of soul could have sprung from all the vices, from all the cruelty and corruption, which one would fain attribute now to the Southern people? The laws of inflexible logic refute these false imputations. And, strange coincidence! while Southern men presided over the destinies of the Union, its gigantic prosperity was the astonishment of the world. For long years the constant efforts of the North, and a certain foreign country, to spread among the blacks incendiary pamphlets and tracts, have powerfully contributed to suspend every Southern movement toward emancipation. Its people have been compelled to close their ears to ideas which threatened their very existence.

"Let the independence of the South be recognized—that servile insurrection, openly and boldly preached in the pulpits of the North, may cease to be an ever-present danger. Leave her to her own inspirations, and, at her hour, in her own time, with the assistance of Europe—that is to say, when the black shall be sufficiently advanced to understand, that, free or slave, he owes it to himself and society to assist by his labor in the common weal—the South will, herself, commence the great work of retrenchment. Nothing will then prevent it, for free labor will become less burdensome to the planter, at the same time that the entire of Europe will not find itself threatened in the vital interests of its industrial relations, by the dearth of material which would now be the first and inevitable consequences of a servile war."

In most of the State Conventions movements have been and will be made, looking to the restoration of the old system of electing the Judiciary.

In Louisiana and Alabama it is proposed to abandon the system by popular elections. The movement has our hearty approval, and will, no doubt, receive the approval of all who favor sound and conservative government.

The report on the subject in the Alabama Convention was very able, and argues as follows:

"In all the great array of facts that have impelled the Southern States to disconnect themselves from a government which had ceased to respect that wonderful body of organic law contained in the Constitution of the United States, nothing was more painfully true, or more destructive of our confidence in the people of the North, than the fact that judges, elected by the people, and the more instruments of popular prejudice, would soil their robes to deny us justice, because their robes were placed upon their shoulders by the votes of a fanatical people.

"It is equally true, that the party now in power in the Government of the United States, in order to employ the Constitution for our destruction, have appealed to the ballot-box for a repudiation of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the Constitution, and boldly assert the responsibility of the judiciary to the public will. They declare it as one of the great purposes of their accession to power, that they will reform the judiciary, and make it bend to the opinions and will of the populace, so that the Constitution shall be read according to their construction. This fact was the final destruction of the confidence of the people of the South in the power of the

Government of the United States to protect their rights.

"In a State where the executive power is not supreme, the judiciary is the only umpire to which the people can appeal, in the last resort, for justice and security. The Constitution itself is to be construed by this umpire, and the decision is binding on the State and the people. The co-ordinate departments of the government can be brought before this umpire, and may be compelled to do justice, and to forbear to do wrong, to a citizen. If this umpire is left under the constant and direct pressure of popular will, and is its representative, how can it be reasonably expected, that on some occasion an unpopular cause will not be defeated without regard to justice, in deference to the voice of a majority? If such a thing may occur as a natural result of a false principle, the mere possibility of its occurrence is a conclusive reason why the principle should be discarded."

The governments of France and England have both notified that of Mr. Lincoln that no blockade of Southern ports will be recognized which is not thorough and effectual, according to the provisions of the treaty of Paris. To their terms of this treaty it is understood that the United States gave full assent except in the matter of privateering, but being unable to assent in part, no further action was taken. These terms have ever received the support of the government, and were insisted upon in 1812 by declaration of war. In the treaty of Paris they are authoritatively sanctioned by the great commercial powers of the world.

The laws of blockade could not, however, be made applicable to the Southern ports under the doctrine of the United States government that they remain still a part of the confederacy. The import and export trade of these ports would still, therefore, be legitimate under our treaties, subject only to the collection of duties. The doctrines relating to foreign powers during war would therefore be inapplicable. Northern as well as Southern ships would be entitled to the national protection. The Confederate States would not be governed by such rules, and might declare prize, vessels sailing under the Northern flag. Says the "New-York Economist":

"The Southern executive may eschew the doctrine of the Declaration of Paris as the United States has hitherto done; in which case a neutral flag would be no protection to the property of Northern citizens. Should the doctrine, however, be accepted that free ships make free goods, it is quite probable that most of the trade between the Southern

ports and Europe would have to be done by English ships, and that the coasting between Northern and Southern ports would fall largely into the same hands. It is not improbable that, in the event of hostilities, American shipowners might register their vessels under the British flag, in order to place themselves on a level with English ships, and thereby save the loss of a most material proportion of their trade. Such an expedient, however, is by no means without its difficulties. In order for a vessel to secure a register under the flag of England, it must be shown to the registrar that she is the *bonafide* property of native-born citizens, or of denizens, or of persons to be naturalized, and such persons must, according to the reading of law,—during the whole period of their being owners, be resident within the Queen's dominions, or members of a British factory, or partners in a house actually carrying on business in the United Kingdom, or within the Queen's dominions, and must have taken the oath of allegiance subsequently to the period of their being so made denizens or naturalized. Moreover, the transfer of a ship from an American citizen to such persons can be executed only by absolute sale. These are difficulties which, though not insurmountable, will yet, to a large extent, prevent the registration of American ships under the English flag.

The extent to which the shipping interest of the country would be affected by the outbreak of hostilities, may be inferred from the following statement of the tonnage of five of the seceded States in 1859:

Tonnage cleared.—	
American.	Foreign.
South Carolina.....	117,463..... 49,932
Georgia.....	99,447..... 58,747
Alabama.....	148,556..... 67,474
Florida.....	6,701..... 17,721
Louisiana.....	641,810..... 160,418

Total.....1,072,982..... 350,315

Tonnage entered.—	
American.	Foreign.
South Carolina.....	88,026..... 43,232
Georgia.....	46,113..... 46,374
Alabama.....	77,478..... 54,122
Florida.....	75,345..... 18,706
Louisiana.....	494,855..... 166,569

Total..... 781,817..... 228,994

"It appears from this comparison that the amount of American registered shipping cleared from these five States in 1859 was 1,072,982 tons. The whole registered tonnage of the United States in that year was 2,507,401 tons, of which 236,672 tons belonged to the above-mentioned States; so that the occurrence of civil war would in all probability subject nearly one half of the whole registered tonnage of the country to seizure. These are serious facts for the contemplation of our shipowners, showing most strikingly the necessity for avoiding the and resort of civil war."

To the same effect, writes the "New-York Journal of Commerce," when speaking of the effect of a war conducted against the South.

"Second. How will the war be carried on and conducted?"

"It is absurd to suppose, as do many people of the North, that the coming contest is to be a small matter, and that the South is to be subdued or humiliated and forced into submission to the laws of the Union immediately, and by a few thousand men, aided by the navy of the United States of the North. Our revolutionary struggle lasted for seven years, and cost many thousands of lives, and hundreds of millions of money; and that was a war against three millions of people only, sparsely scattered along the coast from Maine to Georgia. It will be a protracted and bloody civil war. The commercial marine of the United States is greater than that of any other power in the world except Great Britain. Their commerce reaches to all parts of the habitable globe, and the sails of their ships whiten every sea; and at least nineteen twentieths of these belong to the merchants, and are navigated by the seamen of the Northern States. There are, comparatively, but few vessels owned at the South, and they mostly are employed as coasters, and in their trade with the West India Islands; many of which, such as the celebrated Baltimore clippers, are well calculated for privateering, and may readily be converted to that use. The injury which may be done to the shipping and commerce of the Northern States by a few hundred privateers, and the effect such a system of warfare will have on their revenues arising from duties on imports, are matters that will not be overlooked by Southern statesmen, especially when they reflect that the United States adhered to and refused to abrogate the law of nations in that regard, or to relinquish their right to avail themselves of that arm of maritime warfare; and when they also consider, as they will not fail to do, that the exercise of that right on the part of the Southern States, even if a similar measure should be resorted to by their opponents, would prove harmless to the Southerners, who possess but little shipping, while it would, if persisted in, almost annihilate the commerce of the Northern States.

"The suggestion that persons engaged in privateering under the authority of the Southern Confederacy, will be treated as pirates by the United States, is not worth a thought. A successful privateer will, in a few days, take prisoners to the extent of ten times the number of its own crew; and one application to such prisoners of the *lex talionis*, will put a stop to hanging. No one will be executed on either side, whether as a traitor or a privateer. The whole civilized world would revolt against it. Wars, even though revolutionary, are not thus carried on in modern times.

"In the conduct of campaigns upon the land, in a bitter, relentless and vindictive civil war, such as this will be, the Southern States will have advantages over their Northern enemies, aside from the unity of the former and the divisions among the latter—in two respects: First, Northern armies must be drawn from the producing classes, thus abstracting so much from the power of production; while those of the South may be raised and recruited without interfering at all with the prosecution of that labor which

creates, from the soil, more than two hundred millions of annual exports.

"Secondly. A glance at the map will show that, after the secession of the fifteen Slave States, the remaining portion of the Union will comprise two nearly equal subdivisions—the eastern seaboard States and the north-western States, something like a pair of saddle-bags, resting on Lake Erie, and connected, or rather divided, by Ohio, less, at one point, than one hundred miles in width. A successful army, occupying such positions in the eastern part of Ohio, or western portion of Pennsylvania, as would interrupt or even endanger the communications between the Northern seaboard States and the Northwestern, it is easy to see, would, in the hands of a skilful tactician, be able to hold either the Eastern or Western portion in check, while inroads were made upon the other for purposes of destruction, conquest, or plunder; while a like hostile force in the greatest part of the Southern States, would produce but little effect beyond the line of its march, or the position it occupied.

"Besides, after the secession of the Southern States, there will be no such unity of interests between the Eastern States and the Northwestern, either in regard to a tariff of duties for raising a revenue, or touching the protection of manufactures, the support of a navy or seaboard fortifications, or the hazard and expense of wars with maritime powers, as will induce the people of the Northwest to continue a protracted struggle, which, if ever so successful, can result in no possible benefit to themselves, and the prosecution of which, whether finally successful or not, cannot fail to add, yearly or daily, during its progress, to their burden of taxation, in the form of duties or otherwise. Indeed, if the tariff of the Northern Union should be increased, or even remain unchanged, and the Southern Confederacy shall admit imports free, or upon the payment of a small duty, it will most clearly be for the interest of the Northwestern States to withdraw from their union with the Northeastern States and connect themselves with the Southern Confederacy, either as members, or, what would be far better, probably, by a treaty merely. It is quite as easy for the people of the Great West to deal with the merchants of Baltimore, as with those of Boston or New-York; and a political connection with the South, will be fully as natural and agreeable as one with New-England. And can New-York afford not only to lose its trade with the South, now amounting to more than two hundred

millions of dollars a year, but to hazard the loss of all the trade of the eight millions of inhabitants of the Northwestern States?"

Attention is called to our Club system which involves a great reduction, and places the REVIEW within the reach of all. At the same time it reduces our profits to a fraction. Still we adopt it in consequence of the times, in order to extend our circulation to the greatest limit, it being of course understood that the Club subscribers are to pay full prices for subsequent years, unless the clubs are renewed.

We earnestly repeat our request to subscribers to remit, for arrearages, to the New-Orleans office, as promptly as possible.

See the advertisement, at the end of the REVIEW, of J. D. West & Co. Their patent pumps are thus commended in a note received by them from La Grange, Texas:

"LA GRANGE, TEXAS, Feb. 11, 1861.

"I have now had one of these pumps in operation for some weeks, and am highly pleased with it. I had no trouble in getting it in my well and to work, following the directions. I can throw the water with it all over and into my dwelling, affording the greatest facility for extinguishing fire, should one catch in my house.

"I have also attached my wind-wheel to it, and all works like a clock. I shall recommend the pumps everywhere, and it seems to me that you might do a business selling pumps in this county by advertising in our county paper, and referring to me and to Gillespie, Morgan & Co., of Bastrop.

"Very respectfully,

"D. G. GREGORY,  
"Of D. G. GREGORY & SONS."

In consequence of an extraordinary amount of matter for this number, we have omitted some of our regular departments, which will receive due attention in our next issue.

